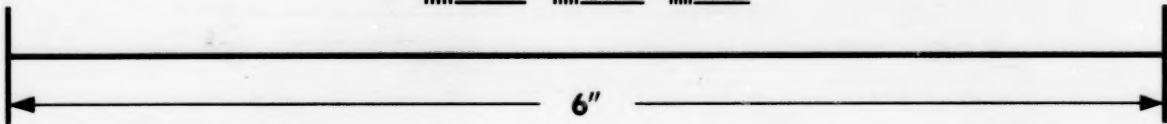
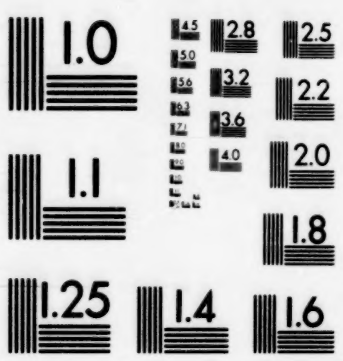


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

JPRS-EPS-84-128

18 October 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

18 October 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

## ALBANIA

- Role of Youth Organizations in Stimulating Economy  
(Mehmet Elezi; RRUGA E PARTISE, Jun 84)..... 1
- Increased Contacts With West Examined by Swiss Paper  
(NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 2-3 Sep 84)..... 14

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Prospects of Socialism Considered  
(PRAVDA, 27 Aug 84)..... 18
- Daily Reviews Chairman of Danish Communists  
(Joergen Jensen Interview; PRAVDA, 27 Sep 84)..... 22

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Bearing Arms or Spades Equal Before Law  
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 5 Sep 84; GLAUBE UND HEIMAT,  
No 26, 2 Sep 84)..... 23
- Construction Service Acceptable Alternative  
Conscientious Objection Legislation Discussed
- Church Is Not Haven for Young Dissidents  
(I. Bertinetti; STANDPUNKT, No 8, Aug 84)..... 27
- Strategies for Coping With Criminality Discussed  
(IWE TAGESDIENST, No 136, 12 Sep 84; DIE WELT, 8/9 Sep 84) 29
- Fight Against Repeat Offenders  
Criminals 'Exported' to FRG

FRG Stance on Citizenship Termed Unrealistic (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 Sep 84; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 20 Sep 84).....	32
---	----

GDR Scholar Scores FRG, by W. Weichelt  
FRG Comment on Weichelt's Article

## HUNGARY

Mehes Addresses Battonya Liberation Rally (Budapest Domestic Service, 22 Sep 84).....	36
--	----

Academician Analyzes Role of State in Economy (MTI, 20 Sep 84).....	39
--	----

Interviews, Descriptions of Religious Instruction (Andras B. Balint; FORRAS, Aug 84).....	41
--	----

## Briefs

New Zaire Envoy	51
Poland, Mongolia Envoys' Credentials	51
New Envoy to Pakistan	51
Cuban Youth Delegation Departs	51
New Ambassador to Libya	52
Sarlos Receives Finnish Minister	52
New Syrian Envoy	52
Austrian Diplomat Visit	52
Joint Book on USSR Ties	52
CSSR Culture; Education Group	52
Estonian Delegation Visit	53
Swedish Party Delegation Visit	53
Brazilian Marketing	53
French Communists Visit	53
MSZMP Delegation in Poland	54
New Algerian Envoy	54
New Envoy to Libya	54
Delegation Returns From DPRK	54
Ambassador to Britain	54
Envoy to Ethiopia	54
Gaspar for Prague	55
Trade Minister in Belgrade	55
Hungarian-CSSR Cooperation	55
Hungarian-Bavarian Environmental Cooperation	55
Leaders Attend Opera Reopening	56

## POLAND

Critic Rebukes Urban, Economic System (Kisiel; TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, No 38, 16 Sep 84).....	57
---	----

## YUGOSLAVIA

Bosnia-Hercegovina Bodies Debate LCY Decisions (TANJUG Domestic Service, 2 Oct 84).....	60
Status of Serbian Orthodox Church Discussed (Dusan Drazic; BORBA, 27, 28 Aug 84).....	62
Survey of Banned Literary Works in Republics (Jadranko Sinkovic, et al.; DANAS, 11 Sep 84).....	70
Works Banned in Serbia, Provinces Discussed (Momcilo Djorgovic; DANAS, 11 Sep 84).....	79
Croatian Decision to Nationalize Amusement Games Questioned (Maja Miles; VJESNIK, 13 Sep 84).....	84

## ALBANIA

### ROLE OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN STIMULATING ECONOMY

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Jun 84 pp 68-79

[Article by Mehmet Elezi: "Let Us Expand the Movement--'Wherever the Youth Is, It Must Be Progressive'--by Reinforcing the Spirit of Action"]

[Text] The people started talking about the movement--"Wherever the youth is, it must be progressive"--one and a half years ago when four letters were published one after the other, in ZERI I RINISE. They were directed to the Youth Central Committee with a daring pledge; to become the bearer and promoter of progress in all fields.

Who is a progressive? A progressive is the one who knows the party line and deeply assimilates it and who becomes a militant for implementing it to the very end, in every field of life and of social activity. This is also the basic concept on which this movement was built from the beginning in executing the tasks of the Eighth Party Congress.

The initiators of the movement were the young men and young women of Lapardhase. They were followed by hundreds of youth organizations in all the country. Their achievements are noticeable. However, work remains to be done in the field of conception and, especially, in the field of its correct implementation.

#### 1. The nature and size of the movement

What was the youth's aim?

The youth organization is the right arm of the party. And the party is the highest example of progress. In the struggle to achieve progress in all fields, youth becomes the promoter for implementing the party's ideas in the construction of socialism and the defense of the fatherland, in order to execute Comrade Enver Hoxha's recommendation at the Eighth Party Congress that youth, "as the most vigorous force of the people, must take an active part in the construction of socialism and participate in life better and better trained" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party," p 101).

Fully devoting itself to the progress of the country and of socialist Society, our youth powerfully affirms its personality and embodies all the volume of experience and knowledge that socialism has given it and increases it every

day. It is the experience of work and school, the experience of comprehensive political-ideological and cultural-sports activities and the experience of all our life that make our youth so capable, mature and rich spiritually.

It is for this reason that this initiative rapidly exceeded its own limits. It was transformed into a broad movement, where the entire youth of the country is involved. The previous initiatives of the youth were channelled into its bosom, as its guidelines and objectives. The work of youth is not "rationed". Therefore, this movement is unlimited in breadth; the youth has its field of struggle for progress in all fields of life, such as production and defense, the problems of society and vigilance, physical education, the people's traditions, science and art. Therefore, one-sided meanings, which we encounter time after time, are not correct, since they require that the movement be extended only to production, or only to some social, cultural and sport issues, thus, forgetting all others. A progressive man cannot be distinguished in one field and backward in another field.

This movement is also unlimited in depth; it always sees ahead, not satisfied with what has already been achieved, because what is advanced today, tomorrow becomes normal and, moreover, even backward. Thus, new and higher objectives must be assigned. Seen from this viewpoint, it is not correct when plan tasks are assigned for the "objectives" of the movement, or very little more, as happens in some youth organizations. The movement requires that objectives be high, above the tasks, scientifically documented and based on real possibilities.

Struggling for progress, our youth also expresses and tempers its wonderful characteristics, its daring and courage.

Where is this daring required, and where is this courage manifested?

They are required and manifested in the determination to study, in the will-power to study continually. The paces and productions of the entire life of the country have been greatly accelerated; the knowledge of mankind, as we know, has doubled in less than 10 years. It is not possible to extract petroleum by some practices of many years ago and with the technologies that were superseded long ago. It is not possible to achieve and exceed [the success of] Dajci and Plasa without discovering the secrets of agricultural science, without assimilating and executing them. For this you need will power to learn, daring and courage to discover what science, techniques and advanced technology are saying.

Daring and courage are required and manifested in the determination to try and test. Because, you can determine an objective but, during the process of its achievement, you encounter difficulties and many unknown things will cross your path. You will experience the satisfaction of success and the bitterness of failure. Therefore, you need courage in order not to come back and determination not to be beaten. The youths of the machine plant at the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine failed several times in their attempts to produce a new machine. After each failure, they started again, determined in their efforts, until they achieved their purpose. Such examples are numerous.

Where else is this courage required and manifested?

Progress is, as we know, the opposite of backwardness. As known, backward, artisan, bureaucratic, technocratic or liberal concepts and practices prevent us from achieving progress. A decisive struggle is needed to defeat them. And, this struggle is more difficult when these obstacles and difficulties come from your own director or comrade, your parent or relative. It becomes even more difficult when these concepts and practices come from yourself and are manifested in the form of mistrust, conservatism, laziness and of placing personal interest in the forefront; therefore, in order to achieve progress, it is necessary, first of all, to subdue "yourself," the backward or petit bourgeois part of yourself.

In all cases, the youth organization and all its members are required to increase their militant spirit, reject and courageously criticize every manifestation of bureaucracy and liberalism, procrastination and out-moded ideas; they are requested to oppose, in a courageous and mature manner, every one who, as a result of his concepts or practices, becomes an obstacle to the fulfillment of the tasks. This courage is based on a firm belief in the line of the party. As Comrade Enver Hoxha said, a brave man is one who is aware of what he struggles for, of what he defends, and one who has a firm belief in the cause to which he devotes himself. Our youth throws itself in the assault with the word of the party aware that socialism is everything for it and for the people, aware that socialism is life itself, the salvation of the fatherland, the present and the future.

In this way, the youth, first, educates itself with the party teachings; second implements this line itself; and third, encourages the correct implementation of this line in all fields and by all workers.

The party wants its youth to be exemplary everywhere and continually, a tireless militant, and a striking, realizing and transforming force in the construction of socialism the defense of the fatherland. By training its members in this manner, the youth organization fully elevates itself to the height of its role, as the right arm of the party.

The movement--"Wherever the youth is, it must be progressive"--was also discussed in this light at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania in May of this year. What are some of the tasks that were discussed there in order to further expand this movement?

## 2. Action with concrete and verifiable objectives, not euphoria

The Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, that was held in December 1983, evaluated the movement--"wherever the youth is, it must be progressive"--as meaningful. While examining its progress, the party observed that in many fields, especially, agriculture, mines, metallurgy, the machine industry and so forth, the movement is affirming itself well. But, if the issue is seen more concretely, the Eighth Plenum noted, would this be the case with the youths who do not fulfill norms, with some youth organizations in the petroleum industry, with some others who work in agriculture and with the young people

who seek the preferred jobs and do not go to work as a lathe operator, textile worker, mason, construction worker and so forth? Of course this does not happen. Why doesn't it happen? The answer must be sought in the internal life and poor educational activity of the youth organization in some sectors, and in the formalism and the lack of an inspiring and mobilizing force in them.

Manifestations of euphoria have taken place in the work of some youth organs and organizations. In these cases, the movement for progress was adopted only in principle; it did not go further. The concrete and verifiable objectives were absent. The preliminary work to achieve them was also absent. And, cooperation with cadres, specialists and other party levers was weak.

In some other cases, the objectives were assigned correctly, but what happened later? The objectives were not accompanied by convincing work to make all young people aware of the opportunity and necessity of implementing them. Then, they were not accompanied by the necessary technical and organizational measures without which any objective remains only a beautiful desire. For example, the youth organization of the Ferrochromium Plant in Burrel had concrete objectives, but, after 1 year when they were asked how they had implemented their objectives, many youths and even comrades of the youth committee of the plant did not remember the pledges they had taken.

Euphoria has stretched its arms to some partial achievements. The case of the youth organization of the Cerme agricultural cooperative in Lushnje is known. Daring objectives were assigned, that is, 10 to 15 quintals of wheat per hectare more than the plan. These became the objectives of all youth of the sector. Later, they became the objectives of all the members of the cooperative, because the party organization used the initiative of youth as a revitalizing ferment, as Comrade Enver Hoxha recommends. At the very end, the objectives were achieved and exceeded. Up to here, it was a model example, a valuable experience worth being generalized. But, what happened after words? After the wheat, euphoria came, followed by one-sidedness and action in campaigns. They diminished the work pace. In regard to cotton, the targets were not achieved in accordance with the objectives of the initiative, and the state plan was not fulfilled, too.

It is known that enthusiasm is a natural characteristic of our youth. However, enthusiasm has nothing in common with euphoria. Moreover, they oppose each other. Revolutionary enthusiasm increases your strength to implement your tasks. Euphoria makes you numb, intoxicates you with words, hides your mistakes and puts you to sleep. Euphoria is especially dangerous if allowed in the ranks of youth. Euphoria badly educates the new generation which has just began its life; it directs the new generation toward excitement and teaches it to deceive.

Euphoria has one enemy. This enemy is assaulting work, concrete action. To increase the spirit of action is precisely the key to the implementation of the tasks assigned by the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

Some comrades of the youth organization, and of the party, in the districts and in the grassroots, have a narrow understanding of action. They connect it only with railroads or harrows, dormitories or volunteers' tents. They

connect it only with that [particular] day or month when people work with concentrated attack to achieve an economic task. These kinds of actions have educational and economic values; therefore, they must be undertaken continually, such as the embellishment of cities undertaken by the youth committees in Durres, Tropoje, Tirana, Skarapar, Mirdite and others. Those, however, are only a small part of the action. The word action means activity; the spirit of action means permanent revolutionary activity; it means assaulting, comprehensive and uninterrupted work in order to implement the recommendations of the party, the tasks assigned in the political, economic and defense tasks, the tasks in the social life and everywhere.

Let us examine, for example, the fulfillment of norms. There are a number of young workers who do not fulfill them. These workers are "removed" from the work front, they are not in the forefront. The youth organizations are responsible for this. Sometimes, one says--we have held meetings on the fulfillment of norms, as well as discussions.

What is the result? Meetings, simply as meetings, have no value. The main purpose is to instill in the young people's minds the responsibility they have in regard to the construction of socialism, where the fulfillment of norms is only an elementary step.

After the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, the youth forums and youth organizations took this issue into serious consideration. Especially during the campaign for reports and elections, they put this issue together with some other tasks in the center of their activity.

Later, in April, a national action was organized for improving the fulfillment of norms by young workers. Combined teams of the Youth Central Committee and the General Council of Trade Unions were dispersed in the main districts. This was done not to remove the comrades at the grassroots or to do their work, which would have been unfair and useless, but to assist them from close range. Nor was it for the purpose of verification, but for the purpose of making changes on the spot.

The issue was treated in an analytical manner, as the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee recommended. The reasons for the nonfulfillments were studied according to characteristics of age, ideological level and training, sex and social condition, the work front and so forth. Based on these characteristics, differentiated work was set up, tete-a-tete meetings with young workers were arranged and technical-organizational measures taken where they were necessary, presenting concrete criticism for the organs of administration. The results were obvious. During January, February and March, the number of youths, who did not fulfill norms, decreased about 15 to 20 percent. The workers and, in general, the young workers at the motor vehicle workshop and the "Perlat Rexhepi" agricultural enterprise in Shkoder, the "29 Nentori" agricultural enterprise in Lushnje, the Jub-Sukthi agricultural cooperative in Durres, the Permit nursery and elsewhere now are distinguishing themselves in the fulfillment of norms. Without mentioning examples such as the "Enver Hoxha" auto-tractor combine and the "Misto Mame" wood combine, where all levers worked together as a block under the leadership of the party organization. The nonfulfillment of norms was reduced from 10 to 70 percent in dozens of enterprises in the 26 districts of the country, where the action was organized during April.

But, did the present work and this action change the situation completely? This thought would pave the way for euphoria and work in campaigns. In reality, a number of youths still do not fulfill their norms. There must be other young workers who need to be worked with. Afterwards, norms must be continually reviewed in order to increase them and establish technical norms and so forth.

It is important that now the youth organizations have started to work concretely; they say the opportunities they have and the results that could be achieved from close range, if they work continually at these paces, as the party recommends. Now, this is precisely the task set for the future.

Let us take another example, the known initiative, that is, to go where the fatherland needs you which, now, is one of the directions of the movement-- "wherever the youth is, it must be progressive." The Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee recommended that the youth Central Committee "Must link itself better with the districts, with the problems that they have in this field and give them its aid." Responding to this task, immediately in January an action was organized to systematize all available forces in the work fronts which are in need. The result of this action was that for 3 weeks a task force of 7200 young men and women were sent to the most important work fronts, an event which had not taken place before, not even for several months.

However, the most important result is something else: good experience was gained from this action about how one should work at the grassroots and it was seen what profit can result from concrete and differentiated work with the people, coordinating work with the other levers of the party.

This action was also carried out during the election campaign. What did it produce? About 500 young people went to the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine and hundreds of others were systematized in important economic enterprises in the districts. Now, the task is that the matter must be pursued continually. This is especially true for Tirana and, above all, for the Valias mine. This is also true for the other districts for work fronts which are more in need of assistance.

To go where the fatherland needs you is only the first step. The main thing is that wherever you go, you must work with the spirit of action and to really give the example of a progressive element. And, here, it is not the matter of 7,000 or 10,000 people who start work in various work fronts, because this number is only a very small percentage of the total number of youths. The matter is for about 700,000 young men and young women who compose the great army of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, so that they will always be progressive, always in the forefront of the fulfillment of all tasks.

This is also how the issue is for the petroleum and livestock sectors. It is known that the issue of petroleum and of energy in general, above all, is a political issue. It is linked with the strengthening of the economy and of defense; it is linked, ultimately with the independence of the fatherland. Is the issue politically understood by all youth organs and organizations in the petroleum sector? If the issue had been politically understood, then, the activity of some of them would not have been weak and anemic. There,

technocracy and bureaucracy have killed living work with the people. There is lack of rapid and mobilizing competitions. The meetings, organized by the Youth Central Committee for the movement "Wherever the youth is, it must be progressive," which started on the basis of wells and, later, on the basis of sectors and ended with the national meeting, as well as the teams of aid and of verification, followed the path of the general and formal work of the youth organizations in the petroleum sector.

Our young oil workers have readiness and enthusiasm in work. The issue is that youth should remain close to work, that concrete and imaginative work be carried out with it so that the movement, "Wherever youth is, it must be progressive" in petroleum will be expanded, especially in three main directions, which were also stressed during the meeting: Let us expand it in order to strengthen proletarian discipline in work, improve training and assimilate new technologies. All this in order to fulfill the tasks assigned by the party.

Some petroleum enterprises have a problem: some workers come to work and, after a short period, leave their work, they do not stay long. This behavior has bad consequences for training and for the pace of work itself. The youth committee in Fier District, for example, and the basic youth organizations still have not seriously tackled this problem, to make a concrete study of the situation to find out why these departures take place, what is it that does not please these young workers and what is that does not attract them there? And, on this basis, to construct their work, take concrete measures based on the party teachings, so that these workers will stay in their jobs, work with determination and devote themselves to work to the very end. This is a concrete task assigned by the party.

What about the livestock sector? What is the role of youth there, where the spirit of action is required for progress? The implementation of the tasks in the livestock sector is also a problem, not simply an economic problem, but also a political problem. It is directly connected with the satisfaction of the needs of the people for livestock products, for the improvement of the well-being of the people and for the harmonious development of agriculture and of the entire economy. Hundreds of youths have gone to this sector to execute the tasks of the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee. And, the results of some of them are satisfactory. Milk maid Rajmonda Grabovari, for example, reported at the Youth Conference in Berat District that she had fulfilled her target of 7,200 liters of milk per cow and pledged to obtain 8,000 liters. Viron Kola in Permet is struggling to obtain 400 liters from every goat and, so far, is maintaining a pace which assures the achievement of this target.

There are others like those. But, in livestock we are still far away, we are under the possibilities created by the large investments allocated by the state for this sector. There are still dozens of shepherds, members of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, who are not obtaining from goats as much as Hamdi Bisha and Rifat Kazma obtain from their sheep, without comparing them with the results achieved by Vat Marku from the goat herd. Because there are districts, like Librazhd, Gramsh, Kruje, Puke and others, where yields from cows, sheep and goats are still very low. Even in those districts where yields are higher, nevertheless, the possibilities are for more yields.

The livestock issue is a big one. It does not comprise only the actions to clean grasslands and, in general, to assure the fodder base. In many districts such as Kukës, Berat, Vlorë, Gjirokastër, Ersekë and others, these actions are well organized. However, the livestock sector as any other branch of the economy, is a profession and a science in itself. It requires the energy and force of youth; it requires a person who does not find the odor of manure repugnant, one who is not afraid of the mountain solitude and is not afraid of the long period of winter. At the same time, it requires great knowledge so as to place the entire increase of livestock on most scientific bases. For example, why we do not have hybrids for fodder as we have for bread grains? Yields cannot be increased without a noticeable improvement of the treatment of fodder crops.

The movement "Wherever youth is, it must be progressive" has, therefore, a broader and deeper mission. It has the mission to light in youth the flame of an inextinguishable passion for knowledge and a great desire for continuing research work, for running through the pages of scientific reviews and books, for learning what the press radio and television say, for listening always to those people who know something more than you do and asking them questions and finally, trying to come up to the level of these people and even trying to surpass them.

Therefore, now experience has been gained to expand the movement, to combat euphoria and to establish concrete and verifiable objectives. This experience was enriched especially after the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee. Now, the task is to extend and expand everywhere the work that has begun, working with the spirit of action and avoiding euphoria and work in on a general basis.

### 3. Educational work for progress and some issues regarding the method of its construction

A progressive is a young man or a young woman who lives with situations. But, what does it mean to live with situations? Does it mean only to know them? Knowing them is necessary, but not enough. It is not enough for us to know what is happening and to stifle our curiosity or the curiosity of those who are near us.

The party recommends that we pursue the situations step by step and that we respond to them with a militant spirit in the implementation of all tasks. And, in conditions when these situations are very troubled, when the danger of war from the superpowers increases more and more and when, together with it, the comprehensive hostile pressure toward our country also increases, the responsibility of the new generation becomes even greater.

In this meaning, the task of every youth is not only to work, to train or to learn. This is obvious. However, the party demands that youth encourage other people to be in the vanguard, to openly express everywhere its thoughts where about how the party line and directives are being executed and to insist that this line be executed to the end and by everyone. The school youth, for example, must see the entire teaching process with a critical eyes so as to improve its fruitfulness. It must speak up clearly and

and courageously on whether the party policy in schools is being fully implemented or not and, concretely, if the scientific level of the teaching is up to the level of the times, and how the textbooks and the teachers are to point out deficiencies and speak about what should be done.

This also goes for the youth organizations in other sectors: in production, where youth is a force with greater vitality; in the army, where youth is the only force; and in sports, social and cultural life and so forth.

The party has made youth healthy and courageous. Youth is connected to the party and socialism as blood and bones are connected to the body. This is as true as the sun. But, it is not at all fair that behind this reality, behind the phrase "the general situation is positive," there is concealed the various weaknesses of the educational and of mobilizing work. What was Stalin stressing when he used to draw attention to the "dim" aspects of successes? Precisely, the need to protect oneself from intoxication, from euphoria. Because, can the youth who misuses property and work and who behaves badly on the road be progressing? Moreover, can the person who sees disgraceful attitudes, favoritism and interferences, as well as arrogant behaviors of workers and cadres and, then, goes away in silence be progressive?

The educational work of the youth organization does not consist only of meetings and of forms of education. These are useful and must be developed at a high level; however, again, their possibilities are relatively limited. Then at the very end, the meeting is [held] one day a month and the form of education is also one day a month. But, what does the youth do during the other 28 days of the month? Does it not learn and is it not educated and cultured?

Therefore, as the party teaches us, a broader concept is required for the educational work and for its fruitfulness. Work and books, school and free discussions, debates on films and physical, cultural and sport activities, talks with specialists and debates with each other serve education. When they are organized on a continuing basis, encouraged and developed with sound content and with party-minded spirit, then, their results are felt and are increased.

It is essential for the youth organization to be acquainted with the interests, tendencies and demands of its members and to know how to respond to them with the activities that it organizes.

The possibilities exist, and the time requires, that activities and talks be uninterruptedly developed in all cultural institutions that we have in cities and villages, where specialists and scholars will treat special matters of policy and culture, of folklore and science and of archeology and sports. It is unpardonable that all this cultural, material and human potential, that the party has created, not be fully used for the education of youth. Simply, bureaucracy in educational work must be combatted, because bureaucracy, if it is allowed, withers youth; it strips the spirit of youth from the youth and ages it artificially. Sometimes, instead of taking into consideration the content of the activity and its fruitfulness, people consider lists and members, that is, who had come and how many they were, why this one or that one did not come and why the conference room was not filled with people. Neither the organizers nor the lecturer have to resent it if, for example,

only 50 people instead of 200 people were at the conference. If the talk was interesting, these 50 people will tell dozens of others: "it was a pity that you did not come; you lost a good occasion;" and will tell them about what they say and what they heard at the conference. And, the next time, certainly, the conference room will be filled. Later, even if, for example, at a conference on cybernetics, there were empty seats, it does not matter at all. Those who desire to know about cybernetics will come, the others will go to another conference on cosmos or literature, corn hybrids, sports, the May concerts and so forth. The important thing is that many varied activities be developed, just as varied are the interests of youths.

Bureaucracy must also be combatted in the work of many cultural institutions which continue with stereotyped programs and routine activities which do not require fatigue. These institutions do not see that the time assigns new requirements, that it has left these activities far behind and that youth is no longer what it used to be yesterday. For example, if the Fifth Festival of Light Music was held this year at the Sakava agricultural unit in Lushnje, with 14 songs by local authors from Lushnje, you can imagine the incalculable opportunities we have to develop other activities requiring little effort, but with every great educational value.

People at the "Studenti" cultural palace use to say: "Youth does not come to discussions and activities" and "students are loaded with lessons." The youth committee of the university also had the same concept. But, what happened in reality when the Youth Central Committee organized the Week of Culture in the halls of this palace, when the specialists of the various fields developed their well-prepared and illustrated talks that were attended with great interest? The halls were revitalized. The same thing happened at Tirana cultural palace. The issue is that, through initiatives and on a continuing basis, we should do the same thing in all cultural institutions and in all districts, work centers, agricultural cooperatives, schools and military units. Our youth has good tendencies, but in no way should youth be left in a state of leisure. If we do not attract youth with our culture, the enemy will offer it the anticulture; if we do not revitalize youth with sports, the enemy will involve it in "Lottosports."

There also are some wonderful educational milieus which are situated outside the walls of our halls. Those are the plains and mountains of our socialist fatherland and the tourist and historic places; it is necessary to develop more mass cross-country activities, promenades and sport competitions. The campaign of meetings for reporting and elections in the youth organizations was accompanied by many activities of this kind. Those, however, are not campaign matters, they must be continually developed.

Bureaucracy with its forms--global fulfillment and technocracy--is manifested in other aspects of work with young men and young women. Sometimes the youth organizations deal more with figures than necessary. To deal with figures is easier; there is less trouble and responsibility, but also less profit. The work of the youth organization is a party work, therefore, work with the people.

Implementing party recommendations, recently the attention of the youth organs and organizations is being more concentrated on differentiated work. The aim is to know the youths who manifest foreign manifestations or tendencies from close range, to study the character of everyone and the nature of the manifestations that he manifests and, according to categories, to construct work with them. This work has begun to be carried out in a better manner especially, in Elbasan, Lushnje and Diber districts and so forth. Also, work with the terrain is better coordinated in some army units and sections so as to know the tendencies and characteristics of soldiers and youths and, on this basis, to construct work with them.

The task of the youth committees and organizations is to be acquainted properly with the aim of the enemy propaganda and, at the same time, to know what the questions of the youth in regard to this or that issue and, in harmony with this, to construct the educational work, to organize the counterpropaganda and develop special themes by well prepared comrades. These themes can be completely different from one organization to the other and from one moment to the other, depending on the sharpness of the issue at the given time and place. The main point for them is to be on a high level, documented and concrete.

The answers to the questions of the youth must be the same. The questions are the expression of the broad interests of youth and of its level. Therefore they must be known and executed on the basis of party lessons. A group of university students had asked the teacher of political economics: but, when the robots will be used in a broad level in production, how will the surplus value be manifested and, would we then have an exploitation of workers? This question disturbed some people who, immediately, found the solution: we must not give the youth such information because it confuses them.

The party does not say that we should put youth into an "egg" and detach it from the advanced achievements of science and technology which have at their foundation the sweat and intelligence of the masses and serve development. On the contrary, youth must assimilate everything progressive that is created by mankind. In this spirit, it is more correct, for example, to explain to them about competent robots, organizing, for this purpose, a broad discussion on automation in production, on robots and micro processors in modern production, dealing with the technical-economic aspects, but also the ideological and social aspects, of the issue, rejecting the bourgeois-revisionist speculations on the technical and scientific revolution and so forth. Thus, you also enlighten and stir up their desire for study, for reading something in a foreign language book, for thinking what everyone can do tomorrow when he starts life, for assimilating and executing advanced technologies, for automation in production or for other new processes and so forth.

The party teaches us that we should convince the people and not order them, nor should we teach them barren morality. The reinforcement of convictions and the improvement of fruitfulness in educational work is achieved by using more ideological documentation and more scientific documentation. Because, youths and, in general and the people today have a good level; they have much knowledge; they want to and can be easily convinced of the defects of a phenomenon or of a custom. For example, if religion tells that the peaks of

Pulti in Dukagjin are so sharp because Saint Peter had cut them with his sword; even in this remote area of the country there are teachers of geography, geologists and so forth, who can competently and scientifically explain to the people the way of the formation of the geological strata of the soil, the process of the melting of ice and so forth, and not only to tell them that religion is idealistic and reactionary and that it is not right.

The effectiveness of educational work, that aims at making youth progressive everywhere, increases when it is accompanied by concrete action. There are problems concerning the way of living in some villages in Elbasan, Mat, Librazhd, Dibre and other districts. It is useful to explain to the residents [of these areas] and to document the bad habits of the old way of living and the good things of the socialist way of living. The lecturers and talks, that were prepared, were useful. Nevertheless, they are not enough; the issues cannot be solved only with words. We are not illuminative. Words have more weight when accompanied by action and, in a concrete case, [words have more weight when accompanied by] actions for hygiene and for the equipping of houses with furniture and pieces of furniture according to opportunities and so forth.

From this point of view, some actions undertaken recently have been useful, for example, about the way of living, the opening or arrangement of the branches of the roads which connect villages and city quarters that had been left aside in the execution of the tasks assigned by the Fifth Plenum of the Party Central Committee. Such actions have been undertaken in Tirana, Diber, Mat, Librazhd and in other places. Now the task is that these actions must be expanded by better coordinating the work of the youth organizations with other mass organizations and with the state organs.

Further. It is natural and necessary to reinforce propaganda work so that youth will be more involved in sports, making better use of cultural and sports projects to the benefit of education and training. Therefore, if you are only an observer when sports fields are being plowed, such as in Pogradec, Vlore and elsewhere, or when the cultural centers are being converted into depositories, such as in some districts, then, words are gone with the wind.

Last year, among the various national activities, there also was the seminar-- "A sports day for youth" that was organized in Krutje. There, the task was set that every district must create its "Krutje," having it as a school for spreading its activities in all the area. The task was assigned so that we would not be idle but would be constructing all our sport grounds and milieus, which do not require investments, with youth actions. But, for those sport projects requiring investments we would raise our voice so that the funds allocated for culture and sports would be spent for culture and sport and not for depositories, or would be not spent at all, as sometimes happens. Work was carried out in some districts such as Lexhe, Fier, Korce and Shkoder. However, this work was partial, not general. This problem was forcefully tackled by youth during the meetings for reporting (February-March 1984). Then, based on the experience gained during the action for norms and the action for convincing youth to go to the main work fronts and so forth,

in May there was the national action for arranging or constructing sport grounds and cultural centers, in cooperation with the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions and the Ministry of Education and Culture. Dozens of sport grounds were constructed in various districts of the country, and cultural centers and amusement corners and hall for youth were arranged and enriched and so forth. At the same time, various other activities took place during their construction or arrangement. With this action, an encouragement was given to the work that must be expanded in the future.

9150

CSO: 2100/60

## INCREASED CONTACTS WITH WEST EXAMINED BY SWISS PAPER

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 2-3 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by "cvk": "Albania—An Isolated Country ?"]

[Text] Tirana, August—Whenever Albania is mentioned, people are quick to say "an isolated country," "a white spot on the map of Europe." But the official representatives of Albania will tell you that neither they nor their country are "isolated." What they do say is that they do not want to have "any contact with enemies." If asked who the enemies are, their response will invariably be: "The United States and the Soviet Union." There are no trade relations with either country or if at all, indirect ones via third countries. Albanian athletes neither took part in the Moscow Olympic Games, nor did they go to Los Angeles. Albanian newspapers carry daily reports about events held by bilateral "friendship societies" in some foreign country or about similar activities by Albanian embassies abroad and every congratulatory telegram sent by the Albanian leadership on the occasion of a birthday or anniversary of a head of state—crowned or uncrowned—is duly reported. This apparently is meant to convey the impression among the people that Albania enjoys constant friendly relations with the rest of the world.

## Official Meetings

From the Western point of view it is a fact that Albania is isolated—first of all because the average Albanian is unable to leave the country and individual tourists from the West cannot enter it. Nonetheless, it is easy to see that more Albanians are taking official trips abroad each year and more foreigners—either as part of tourist groups or as businessmen—as well as journalists and diplomats are visiting the country than is commonly assumed. There are no statistics available. More than 100 Albanian students are enrolled at West European universities, primarily in France and Scandinavia. Two young musicians have gone to Paris to study and another to Vienna. Albanian technicians and engineers are taking training courses at Western plants to help acquaint themselves with Western technology and Western instructors are supervising the start-up and maintenance of technical facilities which have been shipped to Albania.

Experts from a number of Western countries, some East Bloc countries and Yugoslavia have repeatedly received invitations to attend scientific conferences and symposia ever since 1969—a practice which was stepped up after 1972. Because there were not enough hotel rooms the foreigners had to be put up in private homes, mostly by their Albanian colleagues; but the guests also ran into some absurd confrontations with bans and regulations which contributed little to mutual understanding.

Albanian refugees of the non-communist era visited their relatives in the old country. By chance, we had occasion to speak with such a family in the little town of Korca, not far from the Greek border. For the fifth time since the end of the war the grandmother had come visiting. This time, she brought her granddaughter along who had already been born in the United States. In the two-story former upper middle class house in the center of town they were getting ready to celebrate the grandson's wedding. The grandson who had been born there was a doctor and so was his wife-to-be. According to traditional custom, the women of the family had gathered in the kitchen and were preparing the meal. The men were upstairs in the former salon of the house, smoking and quietly talking amongst themselves—most likely about politics and professional problems. The entire house was clean and well kept; but it seemed to have shrunk as if as a result of poverty. The furniture had not been repaired for decades and the upholstery had not been replaced. The elegance of bygone days was just a memory. What had remained was the dignified hospitality; the impeccable manners of the entire family, young and old, which, we were told, had mostly been one of doctors and lawyers. What is said at such get-togethers between emigrants and stay-at-homes must be somewhat like pebbles thrown into a quiet pond.

#### Introduction to Drama and Art

Among the almost invisible details which are none the less important for an understanding of this "unknown" country is that the "Gallery of Modern Art" next to the Hotel Daiti in Tirana is now showing a tiny collection of Dutch and Italian masters for the first time this year. Ordinarily, the gallery uses its several floors to show nothing but Albanian motifs by Albanian artists in the approved "socialist-revolutionary" style. But this time the local patrons—schoolchildren and factory workers from all sections of the country for the most part—are treated to one painting by Rembrandt and one by Titian and a handful of other, though by no means outstanding West European works: still lifes; portraits of princes and patricians. The visitors are told that the Rembrandt (Head of an Old Man) is really genuine because it was examined by art historians in the proper manner. In the case of the Titian, however, the Albanian experts themselves have justified doubts. No doubt there is a small number of privileged Albanians even today who can visit the major museums of the world—just as prior to the war there must have been a no more numerous

group of well-heeled intellectuals and artists in Albania able to develop their tastes and their understanding of art abroad. But an art museum did not exist in Albania.

By the same token, there was no Albanian theater—and today there are nine. The theater in the capital of Tirana is small. A foreign visitor roaming the streets of Tirana will be hard put to find it. It is hidden behind the official buildings along Lenin Boulevard. If he should go there some morning, he would be greeted by the same characteristic mixture of odors made up of makeup, paint and wood combined with the dust of curtains and scenery as in any other theater in the world. In the pleasant reception room of the theater we slowly got a conversation going with seven members of the ensemble about repertory, style, audience and so on. The theater also houses a marionette theater which also runs 26 puppet theaters and shadow plays throughout the country. Violeta Kougo and Muharem Shtylla, the two directors, told us that the primary aim of the theater is to develop a "national image" and a dramatic form of their own. To achieve this, they are trying, they said, to imitate "everyday life" and to cultivate the Stanilavskyi tradition. The repertory, including that of the marionette theater, is headed by Albanian plays of a national and ideological character which are supposed to further "love for the fatherland and for the party" as well as plays on historical themes and legends. In addition, the repertory includes the classics such as Shakespeare, Schiller, Moliere and Goldoni. Among more recent authors they mentioned Priestley and Brecht. The marionette theaters, for example, are performing "The Good Soldier Schwejk," "Don Quixote," "Pinocchio," "Merry Andrew" and the like.

In the new reader for the 5th to 8th grade there are 65 different items, mostly by Albanian writers ranging from Frasheri to Kadare and one piece by Enver Hoxha. But there were also selections by Victor Hugo, Jack London, Bert Brecht, J. B. Priestley, Edmondo de Amicis, Maxim Gorki and Hans Christian Andersen.

Experts may decide whether the technical quality and artistic ability of the young singers, pianists, violinists and cellists at the music middle school at Shkodra is exceptional or merely average. What was convincing, however, is the genuine enthusiasm of these children, these youngsters and their teachers. They go on stage without having been "drilled" and without any sign of nervousness. The teachers correct their mistakes in an easygoing, non-authoritarian way. The smaller children fuss and giggle as they do anywhere else in the world as they wait for "their entrance." One 10 year-old played pieces by Beethoven and Rachmaninov with a dedication, strength and precision which literally took one's breath away.

For years, Albania has been importing high-quality musical instruments from the West for use in these schools and by countless amateur orchestras (in addition to professional ones) in Tirana and the rest of the country. There are music schools of this kind in other countries as well of course—both in the East and the West—but in those countries there is the advantage of a musical tradition. But Albania is just starting to create one. Even if this music education were to achieve nothing else, it would at the very least be responsible for developing a knowledgeable music audience.

Based on my own experience in the official car in which I was driven around Albania, radio programs from Italy and Greece can apparently be received without significant interference. The same seems to apply to Greek television which I was able to watch at my hotel in Saranta on the Ionian Sea. In Shkodra in northern Albania, however, both the radio and television programs from neighboring Yugoslavia were so thoroughly jammed that it was impossible to understand what was being said.

One could add a great many others to the examples I have already given—such as Albanian participation in international exhibitions; in caricature competitions; animated film festivals; sports events and so on—which are an indication of the fact that the "isolation" really is not as complete as it sometimes appears to us in the West. The political leadership of the country apparently permits the window to the world to be opened just a crack so that the Albanians get a "whiff of the outside world" from time to time.

9478

CSO: 2300/12

PROSPECTS OF SOCIALISM CONSIDERED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] We are living in a period characterized by the confrontation of two basically and completely opposing worldviews and two antagonistic political trends--socialism and imperialism. We are facing a confrontation whose intensity and sharpness has no precedent in history. The fight is over the minds and hearts of several billion people in the entire world. While our side of the world wants to live in peace and in an effort to develop itself and practice the principles of equality and mutual security, the other camp openly proclaims: "We prefer to send the entire human race into oblivion rather than permit it to live under a communist system."

The Great October Socialist Revolution has become a historic event not only of the 20th century but of the entire evolution and history of the human race. Its victory, resulting in the establishment of the first socialist state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, has become a triumph of this century. Practice has proved and verified its scientificness, democratism and humanism, natural development, vitality and prospects. This torch of the truth--the progress and fraternity of all nations--nobody can ever extinguish. To say that communism is a mistake of history is as nonsensical as to deny the existence of the earth's gravity.

In order to fight the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet power, the capitalists mobilized everything at their disposal. However, they could not stop the spinning wheel of history. It has been confirmed that the main law of modern history has been the establishment and growth of socialism.

The Soviet people, led by the Leninist party, have overcome unbelievable difficulties, all sorts of sufferings and intrigues, intervention, blockade, and in the end defeated fascism. Under the influence of the ideas of the Great October Revolution a world socialist community has evolved. Colonial domination by capitalism has been broken.

In the struggle for socialism and the peaceful life of mankind--as Comrade Bilak emphasized in the report on behalf of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee at the Ninth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee--history entrusted the CPSU, the Soviet state, and the heroic Soviet people with a difficult but

noble task. Their shoulders bear the biggest share of the effort to save the very existence of our civilization. The Soviet people are fulfilling this historic task in a dignified and unselfish way. The deeds which the Soviet people have carried out in the past and are carrying out today are ever alive. The passing years do not detract from the heroism of these deeds; on the contrary, this heroism is becoming more and more pronounced and of a higher quality. We are witnessing the establishment of a new world that changes not only the map of our planet but the course of world history in general--a change from slavery to real freedom of the individual.

It is the basic truth of both history and the present that only socialism frees the individual, secures democracy for him, and gives him real human rights. Only socialism is able to create conditions for eliminating wars from the life of mankind, for securing life in peace and survival on this planet. Only socialism fully serves the needs of man, his well-being, and makes possible his multifaceted development and assertions.

We implement the policy of the socialist community from clearly drawn class positions. This policy is in accordance with the historic experience and the basic interests of the working class, the working people of a given country, in harmony with today's needs and the needs of the future development of the revolutionary and progressive movement.

There is no alternative to this policy. Our revolutionary struggles express the main law of the present period--a transition from capitalism to socialism.

This difficult task of the revolutionary construction of society has seen mistakes and errors which, however, have been solved. Still, none of them were and are such that we have to be accountable for them to the overthrown exploiters and rulers who decided on the fate of our people prior to the revolution. None of them are such that we feel a need to account for them to the imperialists, to those who are responsible for the danger with which they are threatening the world today.

Our consciousness, our justified pride, our optimism are based on the great achievement of building socialism, on the policy carried out by our parties and the people of the socialist countries. Even when we try to solve very complex problems or must overcome the most difficult obstacles, we know and will always know that our strength is in the unity of our parties and in cooperation among our countries. In strengthening this unity and developing this cooperation we will always find a point of departure for solving all problems. Our optimism, pride and consciousness stem from the historic superiority of socialism over capitalism. We are more and more aware that we are at the threshold of the period which will demonstrate this superiority in its full force and in all respects.

We are realistic when we state that the general crisis of capitalism is becoming deeper and deeper. All forecasts and attempts to find a solution of how to improve and strengthen capitalism and make it permanent have been rejected by reality. Capitalism is unable to solve the growing socioeconomic problems and eliminate economic crises. In spite of its enormous development of the production forces, science and technology and the various factors affecting life, everybody can see that contemporary capitalism is at the end of its rope and that the aggressive forces of imperialism are threatening our civilization and life on this planet. This does not mean that contemporary imperialism is unable to find a new path when the old one is blocked. It is clear, however, that in spite of all the efforts of its leaders, no new path can lead to a general regeneration of imperialism, in spite of the fact that even under the conditions of its general crisis imperialism still has plenty of reserves at its disposal. Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin anticipated and proved that each further move of imperialism will be a spiral move which in the end will lead to further deepening of the overall general crisis of imperialism and its entire structure. Its powerlessness gives rise to fear, aggressiveness and adventurism. Its theoretical defenders and many of its leading political representatives have lost or are losing the ability to evaluate the situation and, even more so, the trends of historical development realistically. To search for a solution by starting a war against the Soviet Union, to say that by destroying the Soviet Union imperialism will solve all its existing and future problems, amounts to false expectations and sheer illusion.

Fortunately, socialism is so well developed that the human race cannot face a dead-end street. The more powerful socialism is, the less room imperialism will have to implement its plans, namely, to get out of its crisis at the expense of the majority of the people in the world, and the more difficult it will be for its representatives to present themselves as the protectors of world freedom and democracy.

At this crossroads of history, the Soviet Union is the greatest hope of mankind in its struggle to maintain peace.

Why do we emphasize these facts?

In a few hours our nations will commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, one of the greatest acts of the struggle against fascism in occupied Europe. Without trying to refer to the uprising's historic and living legacy for the present, it is sufficient to emphasize just one idea of Comrade Husak in his article published in PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM: "Among the historic achievements of the Slovak National Uprising is the fact that it clearly came out in favor of improving and developing friendly relations with the first socialist country, for a new foreign policy orientation for Czechoslovakia. For all practical purposes, the uprising stressed the unity of the national and international aspects of the antifascist struggle."

And once again, without claiming historical facts, it is true that the distant and more recent past offers clear testimony that at times fateful

for our nations it has always been the Soviet Union which is willing to extend its helping hand, to behave as a friend, comrade and brother. In the same way the memory of the generations must always treasure the heroism shown by the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War. Led by its Leninist party, imbued with the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, socialist patriotism and internationalism, the Soviet people did not hesitate to rise in defense of their own country. The tremendous sacrifices of the Soviet people led not only to the recovery of freedom for their own country but also the freedom of other countries' peoples.

We are proud that in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of our community, socialism as a young and dynamically developing social order demonstrates on Czechoslovak soil as well its advantages and possibilities. It realistically assures all the basic political and social rights of the working people, a high standard of living, dynamic economic development, constant improvement of socialist democracy, and real fraternity and equal co-existence of our nations and national minorities.

The working people of socialist Czechoslovakia fully identify themselves with the words of Comrade Husak: "Our alliance and close cooperation with the Soviet Union is for us not only a revolutionary legacy but also a living reality. It is a guarantee on which we are basing all our plans and future development." At the end a confession: Forward with the Soviet Union forever--this is not only a tradition; it is also a present truth and a faith in the future.

1277

CSO: 2400/434

## DAILY REVIEWS CHAIRMAN OF DANISH COMMUNISTS

AU281512 [Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 September carries on pages 1 and 7 a 900-word interview given by Joergen Jensen, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, to PRAVDA Editor Jan Svec; the date and place of the interview are not specified.

In the interview, entitled "Activation of the Fight for Peace," Jensen deals with the main current tasks of Danish communists (fight against the big business and the antisocial government policy, against U.S. missile deployment in Europe; and so forth). He notes the presence in Denmark of "various groupings, including those with splitting tendencies," which "very assiduously serve the bourgeois communications media in introducing chaos and actions to splinter the coordinated peace movement" and which must be uncovered and convinced. The interview deals with the Danish communists' cooperation with other Scandinavian communists in activating the peace movement, underscoring the peace efforts of the USSR and of socialist states and stating the need to cooperate with the World Peace Council, trade unions, left-wing parties, and progressive forces. Jensen concludes by speaking of the large meeting of the workers movement in the Baltic area--for representatives of communists, social democrats, trade unions, and progressive organizations from Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, the USSR, Poland, the GDR, and the FRG--which is being prepared by Danish communists with a view to activating the fight for peace.

CSO: 2400/13

BEARING ARMS OR SPADES EQUAL BEFORE LAW

Construction Service Acceptable Alternative

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by epd, datelined Berlin, 4 September 1984]

[Text] At a panel discussion in the Protestant St. Sophie's Church in East Berlin, it was affirmed that former construction soldiers of the GDR Army no longer had to fear restrictions in being admitted to universities. At present, over 100 former members of construction units are pursuing their studies. The panel discussion took place on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of construction units in the national People's Army, in which young men who refuse to bear arms in military service because of religious principles or pacifist reasons, perform military service without weapons. The deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, Stolpe, referred to the latest information by State Council Chairman Honecker and Defense Minister Hoffmann, according to which soldiers in construction units had no disadvantages whatsoever. While at the beginning of the seventies they still had difficulties obtaining university places, construction soldiers, like others serving in the military, had preference in admission to universities.

Construction soldiers are a part of the troops and just as integrated in the Army as are Christians in GDR society, stated East Berlin superintendent Krusche. "By not serving with arms, they are a symbol of a world of peace. Whoever performs this service wants to build a better world." At the same time, construction soldiers are also a sign that society is willing to consider the special wishes of Christians.

At the panel discussion, which was hosted by the Conference of Evangelical Young Men and was attended by church representatives, but also by lawyers and former members of construction units, there was no doubt that construction units were only a compromise solution. The repeatedly expressed call for a civilian "social peace service" was considered "utopian" by those who were there to provide information. Stolpe stated that talks were still in progress, but the hope for civilian service must not play a part in the decisionmaking process, because "we must proceed from legal regulations." There were warnings against the alternative possibility of refusing military

service in principle. Whoever did that would have to ask himself if he could place this burden on his family. Whoever did not comply with a draft order could count on a jail sentence of 20 to 24 months; members of the reserve could expect 6 to 9 months in jail. It was also stated that once someone had pledged the oath of allegiance to the flag, he could no longer be admitted to a reserve construction unit. There are also talks in progress on this matter.

General Superintendent Krusche, as well as consistory president Stolpe, pointed out that Christians are not the only ones who can refuse military service. About 10 to 15 percent of the construction unit soldiers are non-Christians who cite pasifist reasons. Two years ago, the church successfully championed the idea that they, like Christians, should not have to fear disadvantages. The number of soldiers serving in construction units was not mentioned. It is estimated that there were more than 1,000 in 1984.

### Conscientious Objection Legislation Discussed

Jena GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in German No 26, 2 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] On 16 September 1964, there appeared in the GDR Law Gazette (Part I No 11, p 129) the "directive of the National Defense Council of the GDR on the establishment of construction units within the area of the Ministry of National Defense" on 7 September 1964, which had become effective as of 1 September of the same year. With this the GDR indicated its willingness to respect in the military area, also, decisions of conscience resulting in service without bearing arms. Under the above-cited directive, this decision remains in effect to this day. Kreis church councillor Martin Kirchner explains it.

"Service in the construction units is for those draftees who for religious views or similar reasons object to military service bearing arms," states Article 4 paragraph 1 of the directive. This is the central sentence of the directive and the real legal basis for the draftee who wants to perform military service without bearing arms. Essentially, two items are substantiated or differentiated, respectively: first, the right per se (and simultaneously, the duty within the framework of general compulsory military service) to refuse armed military service (not military service in itself!), and to perform service in the construction units within the area of the Ministry for National Defense; and second, the motivation of the person in question "because of religious views or similar reasons."

1. At the time of pronouncement of the directive on the establishment of construction units, the GDR Constitution of 7 October 1949, was still in force, which in Article 41 guaranteed freedom of conscience. The constitution of 6 April 1968 (in the wording of 7 October 1974) in Article 20, paragraph 1 stipulates just as unmistakably: "Freedom of conscience and faith are guaranteed." The directive of the Defense Council is based directly on these stipulations in the highest law of the land, elaborates them in a concrete manner and makes them effective in the practice of society. They do not mean

an abstract, platonic freedom of conscience, in the spirit of the constitution only, but a concrete possibility of conscientious decision according to the spirit and the letter of the constitution, the fact "that the socialist state takes into consideration conflicts of conscience" (Commentary on the Constitution, State Publishing Company of the GDR, Berlin 1969 Vol 2 p 61). It is characteristic of a decision in conscience that it is not "verifiable." Certainly there can be no objection to a disclosure of motives by the person concerned, but such disclosure cannot be demanded or forced against his will, nor can a decision be made in the sense of recognition or non-recognition of the conflict of conscience. Naturally this presupposes a high degree of honesty, self-examination and clarity in the person concerned. However, the appeal to the right of freedom of conscience according to the constitution and the regulations of the construction service directive, must suffice for all parties concerned to grant an individual a weaponless service in the construction units.

The person in question submits a statement, preferably in writing, during the talk with the draft board, that is, during recruitment. The last date for such a statement is during the draft review; however, an earlier date is preferable, for example by sending the statement through the mail, registered with return receipt, to the appropriate local military command.

Appeals against the decisions of the local military command or the draft board, respectively, are regulated by Article 15 of the military service law (source, see below). According to this article, an appeal against the draft contrary to legal provisions is also admissible. "Before the draft into military service, the appeal must be addressed to the appropriate local military command within 1 week after receipt of the decision or the draft order, respectively. If the appeal is not allowed, it is to be sent on the military district command." (Article 15 paragraph 2 of the military service law) The appeal has no suspensory effect.

2. The motivation of the individual concerned, "because of religious views or similar reasons," is covered by the law extensively and not at all restrictively. Correctly, the formulation is not "religious reasons" (which, at least in the Christian area, probably do not exist in this manner), but "views." This makes clear the individuality, and thereby the individual decision of the person in question, which can only be measured against his conscience, not against a collective conscience, a religious community, or other conviction. The appeal to "religious views" will only be understood correctly through one's own conscience, a conflict of conscience, and a decision of conscience which is rooted in faith and grows out of it.

On the other hand, the formulation "for similar reasons" is not to be understood restrictively. The constitution deliberately speaks always of "ideological or religious beliefs" in the same context. This context in its alternative, or partly congruent, meaning must also be imputed to the "similar reasons" in connection with "religious views." It is not a restriction to purely religious views in the sense of adherence to a religious community or confession of faith, but a broadening to "similar" reasons which, by the nature of the term "reasons," is very extensive, and by the word "similar" is placed

only in the religious or ideological field; but in the last analysis, in this case freedom of conscience is also the sole measuring stick for a decision. Thus pacifists of widely divergent kinds, non-Christian yet religious motives, antroposophic (humanitarian) convictions, etc., also are clearly included. However, not legitimate in this context and this argument are convictions rooted in the area of political views.

Reservists, that is, draftees who have done their basic military service in an armed unit, cannot perform military duty in the construction units. The oath of allegiance to the flag, once taken--which is irrevocable--stands in its way, since soldiers of construction units do not take an oath of allegiance to the flag, but a separate special pledge. This problem, which may encounter a change of conscience, for various reasons cannot be solved at present.

With the "law on military service in the GDR--military service law" of 25 March 1982 (BG1 No 12 p 221 ff.), no change has occurred in the hitherto legal basis for unarmed military service and its practical implementation. On the contrary--Article 2 paragraph 3 of the military service law states that "service in other organs in which, upon decision of the National Defense Council of the GDR, citizens can exercise their constitutional rights and obligation of honor for the defense of their country...(corresponds) to the fulfillment of military service." On 25 March 1982, the National Defense Council published in the same legal gazette an "announcement on the service which corresponds to the fulfillment of military service." It states that "on the basis of decisions by the National Defense Council of the GDR...service...d) in the construction units under the Ministry of National Defense...(corresponds to) fulfillment of military service."

9916

CSO: 2300/645

CHURCH IS NOT HAVEN FOR YOUNG DISSIDENTS

East Berlin STANDPUNKT in German No 8, Aug 84 p 233

[Article by Dr I. Bertinetti, ed.]

[Text] Among the symptoms of the desperate state of affairs of the capitalist economic system is the increasing number of young unemployed in the Western world. Recently, the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, published in the FRG, wrote about the almost dramatic conditions in the scenario of jobless young people and commented aptly: "There can no longer be any question of equal opportunities in life, as guaranteed by the [Bonn] Basic Law."

Inevitably, the enforced idleness must have demoralizing effects. On the other hand, there are indications that something has begun to stir within this youth, because it does not simply resign itself to this hopelessness, and because it will not simply permit itself to be "written off" by leading politicians. Part of this movement is the demand for alternative life styles (which, however, can change the system only insignificantly) as well as the call for a job procurement program for the purposeful protection of the endangered natural environment of man. Also a part of it are the differentiated groups of the peace movement, and the advocacy by young people for the creation of humane conditions in Third World countries.

It seems to be typical that much of this justified demand for a better and more meaningful life is emotionally motivated. This may be the reason why some forms of expression for a better world seem repellent to the observer rather than stirring feelings of agreement. Far be it from us to play the judge with hypocritically raised forefinger, from the safe distance of a society oriented toward social justice and security. It is the right of young people to react spontaneously and to express their feelings in their own way, as long as it does not turn to excess. However, we would see danger if such movements are judged out of context of the societal conditions that cause them, and if their spectacular nature inspires uncritical imitation among our own young.

As our Whitsuntide youth festival again showed this year, our youth has many opportunities to express in an appropriate manner their feelings for every good and humanitarian concern, for peace and welfare of all mankind, demonstratively or through the medium of art. This occurs in our state in accord with the principles of a socialist society.

However, our forces of society rightfully protest when romanticizing ideas of an ostensible "freedom" turn into ideologically uncommitted action which imitates questionable ideals from the Western Hemisphere. This also holds true when such action, which is contrary to valid standards, appears disguised in a religious mantle.

As Christians, we have great understanding for spontaneous reaction and emotionally motivated action. We are even of the opinion that without it, our life would become poorer. Frequently, emotions were at the beginning of a revolutionary movement. They were triggered on the one side by suffering and misery, and on the other by identification with the sufferings of their fellow men. Such emotions are of high ethical value, and they are capable of having a rousing effect on the masses.

However, if something basic is to change in the conditions of society, it must not stop with spontaneity and emotionalism. History teaches us that emotions and rational thinking must be brought into agreement which, in proper recognition of objective conditions, turns toward goal-oriented and disciplined action.

For instance, emotions triggered by an endangered natural environment must definitely be affirmed by Christian thinking, since we Christians do not see "nature" as something that happens to be there accidentally, but as God's creation which was entrusted to us for responsible management. Such a responsibility, whether stemming from faith in the creator or from knowledgeable understanding of necessity, can only be carried out successfully if human action proceeds from recognition of the lawful correlations in nature and society, and in foresighted planning of the future.

As Christians, we are also tied to the possibilities of reality, aware that we need God's will as a constant corrective for our emotions, and precise theoretical knowledge as a corrective for thinking and planning reason. If we mold our life according to these principles, allied in partnership with all progressive forces of society, such a mode of living would have immense importance for our society, and it could also have an inspiring influence on Christians among those young people in the FRC of whom we spoke in the beginning.

9917

CSO: 2300/662

STRATEGIES FOR COPING WITH CRIMINALITY DISCUSSED

Fight Against Repeat Offenders

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 136, 12 Sep 84 pp 1-2

[Text] An East Berlin article series, "Criminality and the Forensic Sciences," defined as "necessary" more of a "confrontation with criminality, which still is an objective factor in real socialism." An important task was to carry on a more "intensive and scientifically founded" struggle against the so-called recidivism, primarily in property crimes. The series made a special point of that recidivism "continues to be a criminal manifestation severely burdening socialist society and the working people." It caused "disturbances" reflected less by the amount of damage than by their "destructive political-moral effects." All manifestations of recidivism had in common that by their frequency they "constitute a genuine danger to public order and safety." Leaving them unsolved would induce the offenders to commit "more and eventually also more dangerous kinds of crimes."

As East Berlin crime statistics for 1982 reveal, nearly one of every two crimes recorded in the GDR is a property crime or fraud. Among the total of 120,000 crimes, more than 50,000 were thefts. According to GDR criminal investigators, that figure is especially high for "theft of socialist property."

The "Criminality and Forensic Sciences" series has made the point that there are "many favoring circumstances" for such crimes and that "even new conditions" were developing that "have to be spotted more speedily and be eliminated before they take hold." Successfully fighting such crime was possible only "through a long-range and permanent strategy in which all the potentials of socialist society are integrated." Generally speaking, the series admits that also in socialism crime fighting "is a permanent, lengthy and contradictory process, marked also by the dialectic between continuity and discontinuity."

Criminals 'Exported' to FRG

Bonn DIE WELT in German 8/9 Sep 84 pp 1-2

[Text] Political prisoners who for reasons of active hostility to the regime have in part received long prison sentences are supposed to be exempted from the amnesty for criminals planned for 7 October, the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. According to reports from East Berlin, State Council

Chairman Erich Honecker plans to grant amnesty only to prisoners who got shorter prison sentences on grounds of attempted defection or of offending state organs. They might hope for a premature release and, through purchase deals, for being shoved off to the West. Altogether, expectations are that circa 5,000 prisoners will be released ahead of term.

The SED leadership, it appears, intends to let go West also, in the wake of this amnesty, a considerable number of criminals in jail for theft, burglary, robbery and bodily injury. The FRG government already has announced, however, criminals would get no material assistance--as they did get, if involuntarily, from the liberal-social coalition. Through collective transports of political prisoners the State Security Service repeatedly sneaked some criminals to the West already in recent years. Evidently, East Berlin now intends to send off criminal prisoners in large numbers separately, without any compensation.

Since the change of government, Bonn has sought to influence East Berlin not to abuse the humanitarian operations agreed on two decades ago. As a matter of fact, the SED leadership has not demanded up to now that the FRG government should have to "accept" criminals and possibly even pay handsomely for them. In the practice of this sensitive trading of people for urgently needed goods in the GDR criminals yet were demonstrably always included in shipments of political prisoners.

Last month still the State Security Service in Berlin let several released criminals depart for West Berlin without any announcement. Among them were some convicted for manslaughter and East Berliners with a record for scuffles and in the porno trade.

Official sources in the FRG have not yet indicated whether and how they intend to react to the intention to push a larger circle of criminal prisoners from the GDR across the border to the West.

#### Crime Pays Off

A birthday casts a shadow across the wall. For the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR there is supposed to be an amnesty, as has been announced from the State Council chairman's perimeter.

Celebrating the anniversary, he does not want to act shabbily. Even prisoners with heavy penalties are to be amnestied. Yet those who demanded free movement for all and indicted the Soviet prearmament with SS 20 missiles will not find the gates of their penitentiaries opened on the occasion of 7 October.

If one is released from that circle, then only after tough bargaining over the price on his head. For a different group of penitentiary inmates the SED leadership, it is learned, will however renounce any price quotations because it wants to get rid of them, as it were, at any price. So that comes down to a zero quotation. Those are the purely criminal, of whom it is thought they cannot be resocialized to real socialism.

This is not the first time for criminals to be dumped on the West by including them in transports of political prisoners. The social-liberal coalition, to be sure, still made payments to East Berlin for such purely criminal persons.

The incumbent government in Bonn has put a stop to that. Still they keep being sent to the West. This fall a larger contingent is to be sent to us, freely delivered and with the right to return them precluded by guarantee. Over there they have made the list of the undesirable fellow-citizens for life. So they improve by GDR statistics on resettlers the regime's humanitarian balance-sheet at the year's end.

The FRG Constitution bars renouncing even these "immigrants." The FRG government may have second thoughts about why precisely such criminal elements are being infiltrated here--it cannot be because the coercive regime just does not manage to cope with them. In any event, it can and must apprise the fact that the so-called second German state denies decent people the privilege of free movement but paves the way for criminals.

5885

CSO: 2300/668

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG STANCE ON CITIZENSHIP TERMED UNREALISTIC

GDR Scholar Scores FRG

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by Dr W. Weichelt, chairman, Constitution and Law, People's Chamber and director, Institute for Theory of State and Law, Academy of Science of the GDR: "The Citizenship Issue and the Sense for Political Realities"]

[Text] The standards of international law, worldwide recognized, and their respect and application are indispensable for peaceful and promising inter-state relations. That holds true especially for the respect of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of states and the noninterference in the domestic and foreign affairs of other states. The Final Act of CSCE in Helsinki in 1975, which has had such a positive influence on international relations, includes these fundamental international law principles among the ten that form the nucleus of that important document.

International experience has shown that cooperation among the states, regardless of their political and social order, develops all the better, the more resolutely the partners abide by basic rules of international law. Vice versa: The perilous exacerbation of the international situation at present not last has to do with that the proponents of the arms buildup and confrontation policy are trampling the basic norms of international law under foot. Thus, for a positive turn in international relations from rearmament to disarmament, from confrontation to cooperation, it is absolutely necessary for all states, without exception, to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other states and refrain from all meddling in their domestic and foreign affairs.

Citizenship questions play an important role in international political life. International relations cannot be separated from relations among people who are citizens of one state or another. The questions of citizenship are most closely intertwined with the basic norms of international law.

The citizenship of a state is generated with the state itself and is as indispensable an attribute of its existence as the fact that it has national borders, issues mandatory laws for its citizens and, on that basis, exercises political power within its national borders. Each state has its own citizens. A state without citizens of its own is as inconceivable as a citizenship without a state.

All the attributes marking a sovereign state as a subject with equal rights under international law merely have to be acknowledged by all other states and respected in their reciprocal communication and in the international communication with third countries. That is an international law obligation in accordance with the first two articles in the UN Charter.

To reiterate it once again clearly: Merely a formal recognition of one state's citizenship by another state through a special diplomatic act or a treaty accord, as it is done in granting a state recognition or establishing diplomatic relations, is alien to international law and international practice.

The point is that the citizenship of some other state must be fully respected under any conditions--regardless of whether or not that other state is recognized under international law and whether or not diplomatic relations are established with it. A diplomatic recognition of a state by another merely confirms that state of affairs.

Internationally, there is a far-reaching consensus about all these problems among noted theoreticians in international law, however much they may disagree otherwise. E. W. Böckenförde, professor at Freiburg University in the FRG, makes the point that any citizenship "relates inseparably to a given state, whereby its own existence is determined." It "cannot be legally detached from this specific state and translated into some normative existence *sui generis*." It "originates always when and as soon as a state originates and expires, without reservation, when the state perishes."

It is in this sense that the FDP deputy faction chairman in the FRG parliament had to admit it was "by now no longer conceivable to fail to reflect that a state in existence can grant itself and has granted itself its own citizenship for its citizens. That is something, after all, one ought to be able to cope with in practical life."

This respect for the *de facto* existence of a state hence, in accordance with the international law in force and as practiced, is tied to respecting its borders, its territorial integrity, its sovereignty and its citizenship. In conformity with international law each state is sovereign in settling the questions of its citizenship and of acquiring and losing it. But no state has the right to decide anything about foreign citizenships. Respecting the citizenship of other states is understood and irrevocable for all international relations to function normally.

Actually there is no need to remark that that which applies to all other states also applies of course to the GDR and the FRG, both UN members and signers of the Final Act of Helsinki. And still it has to be said because Bonn ignores the givens in international law and fails to respect the GDR's citizenship.

If responsible FRG politicians believe they can invalidate international legal norms at will, they violate not only the precept of international law but that of political realism as well. One cannot advocate the normalization of relations unless one sees the elemental issues of reality as they are. Reality, to be sure, is not in the least altered by such a senseless stance. Realities have existed, do exist and will exist--irrespective of all stupid fantasies, fabricated documents and all of the hairsplitting that could be marshaled against reality.

What FRG organs have the presumption to assert in holding to this position in violation of international law is downright hair-raising in its absurdity. That ranges from conscripting for the FRG army and the summons to vote for federal elections addressed to GDR citizens officially present in the FRG, to refusing extradition of GDR citizens who committed serious crimes on the national territory of the GDR and then fled to the FRG. The most recent case, which must enrage all decent people, is the release the FRG conferred on the murderer Weissgerber. For more than 20 years the so-called Salzgitter central collection center has had the presumption to investigate GDR citizens for acts committed in the GDR's national territory, extending thereby the criminal jurisdiction of the FRG, in violation of international law, to the national territory and citizens of the GDR.

Schmude, once the FRG minister of justice and today the SPD's deputy faction chairman in parliament, announced in this connection one should have to take "account of the fact that we, in conformity with article 6 in the Basic Treaty, respect the independence and self-determination of the GDR and thus also its identity and competency in deciding the matters of its citizenship." According to the latest ruling from the Federal Administrative Court, "the often expressed contention that there was only one German citizenship" was "false." This is a remark which, though roundabout, unequivocally reveals the illegality in Bonn's sole representation thesis in matters of citizenship.

In flagrant opposition to international law and general state practice, however, the FRG and its current government are holding on to the fiction that there continues to exist a "German Reich within its 1937 borders," one "German citizenship," and the doctrine of the identity between the FRG and the "German Reich." In the FRG, GDR citizens are dealt with like its own citizens. There one is constantly interfering in the GDR's domestic affairs by means of legislation, jurisdiction and administrative practices. The FRG is putting pressure on third states to align them with its fictitious position, opposed to international law, in matters of citizenship.

Some FRG politicians even talk of a "protective obligation for GDR citizens." They should rather take care of their own citizens and exercise a genuine protective obligation. They would have their hands full in protecting FRG citizens from unemployment, social welfare cuts, crime, drug abuse--let alone the dangers resulting from the deployment of U.S. nuclear first-strike missiles and the installation of U.S. poison gas depots on FRG territory, threatening the life and health of the FRG citizens.

He who wants to work together with the GDR and develop sensible relations with it, must stand on the ground of realities, of treaty policy. Decisive is that the GDR and the FRG, as two sovereign states, in their Treaty on the Basis of Relations, committed themselves to respect the independence and self-determination of each of the two states in their domestic and foreign affairs. Neither of the two states, according to that Basic Treaty, can represent the other internationally or act on its behalf.

We do not declare it prerequisite to bilateral or multilateral international relations that others first have to change their domestic political laws. The laws in effect in a state are that state's business. We have the GDR Constitution.

No one has the right to interfere in our affairs. Whoever does not take account of that disturbs and prevents the forming of normal relations.

The 35 years in the existence of the socialist German workers and farmers state have demonstrated that any attempt at questioning or violating its sovereignty is bound to fail. And he who still does not comprehend that only shows he lacks all sense for political reality.

#### FRG Comment on Weichelt's Article

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Sep 84 p 2

[Article: "GDR Accuses Bonn of Remoteness From Reality"]

[Text] In another article on the citizenship issue, the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND once again has severely blasted the FRG government. Its author, Weichelt, is the director of the Institute for Theory of State and Law at the Academy of Science, founded in 1972. In the GDR's People's Chamber he is the chairman of the Constitution and Law Commission. Weichelt accuses the FRG of ignoring the givens of international law and of failing to respect GDR citizenship. Respecting the existence of another state was, according to international law in force and practiced, tied to respecting its borders, its territorial integrity, its sovereignty and its citizenship. "In conformity with international law each state is sovereign in settling the questions of its citizenship. But no state has the right to decide anything about foreign citizenships. Addressing the FRG government, Weichelt said that if responsible FRG politicians believed they could invalidate international legal norms at will, they violated not only the precept of international law but that of political realism as well. Reality was not in the least altered by such a senseless stance on the citizenship issue: "Realities have existed, do exist and will exist--irrespective of all stupid fantasies, fabricated documents and all of the hair-splitting that could be marshaled against reality."

Of a "hair-raising absurdity" were conscriptions for the FRG army and the summons to vote for federal elections addressed to GDR citizens officially present in the FRG or the refusal to extradite GDR citizens who had committed serious crimes on the national territory of the GDR and then had fled to the FRG.

The article cites some voices of the FRG enlisted in the GDR's argumentation, such as Prof Boeckenfoerde (Freiburg University) who had remarked that any citizenship inseparably related to a given state and thereby was determined in its own existence. The article also quotes the former minister of justice Schmude (SPD), according to whom one should also have to respect the GDR's identity and competency in the matters of its citizenship. Professor Weichelt remarks: "He who wants to work together with the GDR and develop sensible relations with it, must stand on the ground of realities, of treaty policy. Decisive is that the GDR and the FRG, as two sovereign states, in their Treaty on the Basis of Relations, committed themselves to respect the independence and self-determination of each of the two states in their domestic and foreign affairs. Neither of the two states, according to that Basic Treaty, can represent the other internationally or act on its behalf."

MEHES ADDRESSES BATTONYA LIBERATION RALLY

LD221408 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 22 Sep 84

[Text] Forty years ago the first Hungarian village was liberated. On this occasion a ceremony was held in Battonya and Lajos Mehes, party Politburo member, general secretary of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions], delivered a speech there. Tamas Forro reports on the ceremony:

At 11 o'clock on the night of 22 September 1944 a four-man Soviet reconnaissance group stepped onto Hungarian soil over the temporary Hungarian-Romanian border. On the next day the 18th Armored Army Corps of the Second Ukrainian Front liberated the first Hungarian settlement, Battonya, and then the Soviet Army liberated the whole of Hungary in 194 days. On the occasion of the historic day of 40 years ago a festive mass rally was held this morning in Battonya's main square, beside the liberation monument. At exactly 10 o'clock the young people's gratitude torch arrived; they lit the memorial flame and the Hungarian and Soviet national anthems were played. Miklos Szabo, first secretary of the county Bekes committee of the party, greeted the 10,000 participants of the mass rally and the guests, among them Lajos Mehes, party Politburo member, SZOT general secretary, Nikolay Bazovski, the USSR's ambassador in Hungary, and (?Denisovich Kiva), lieutenant colonel of reconnaissance, who was the first of the liberators to step onto Hungarian soil. After the greeting, Lajos Mehes rose to speak:

[Begin Mehes recording] We look with gratitude and respect on the Soviet people, on Soviet people, who despite so much sacrifice and torment had the strength and the resolve to continue the struggle until the final liquidation of the fascist regime. This was the determination of people struggling for their homeland and for the future of socialism at one and the same time. It fed upon the profound conviction that fascism is the gravest danger for humanity and that for its annihilation every sacrifice and effort has to be made. With respect we raise the flag of remembrance before those heroes who, as Anglo-Saxon airmen, as soldiers of the Romanian, Bulgarian and other peoples, sacrificed their lives for our liberty.

For Hungary the commencement of the liberating operation meant that her tragic participation in the imperialist predatory war on the side of Hitlerite Germany, into which she had been swept by the short-sighted, anti-national and irresponsible policy of her ruling class, was nearing an end. The government, which

disregarded the country's interests and which was blindly anti-Soviet, had taken the Hungarian people into the war in such a way that it briefed even the Parliament only later of this astounding step. This was the culmination of the nearly quarter century-long nation-forfeiting government of the ruling classes represented by Horthy.

The Horthy regime perished in just as inglorious a manner as that in which it had come into being. This leadership, as its last act, after a still-born attempt at breaking away, yielded the field to the most extremist Nyilas rule of terror. The Soviet Army, however, by its advance gradually smashed and forced out of the country the German military power, and also forced the Hungarian servers of fascism to flee. The Hungarian people was able to avail itself of the opportunity because there were in its ranks those who were able to start the organization of democratic political life and public administration.

At the forefront of the social and political transformation were those Hungarian anti-fascist, progressive-thinking, revolutionary forces which had struggled through the quarter century-long anti-revolutionary regime, survived persecution, the sentences of the martial law courts, and imprisonment. The very first rank of these forces was made up of the workers' movement, in which the organized workmen's representatives, the communists, the Social Democrats, the trade union leaders and the nation's other progressive thinkers, outstanding patriots were present. The Horthy regime forced the Communist Party into deep illegality. With every means it curbed the functioning of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions. But not even illegality, persecution, harassment or danger of death were able to prevent the workers' movement from making its voice heard, keeping hope alive, struggling against the fateful alliance that had been concluded with the Germans, proclaiming the national joining of forces and the thought of resistance.

As allies of the workers' movement the best of the peasantry took part in the anti-fascist struggle along with the left-wing thinking intellectuals, army officers of patriotic sentiments and church personalities. This period of Hungarian history was characterized not only by Horthy and Szalasi, Bardosi and Imredy, not only by treasonable and double-dealing politicians, but also by Endre Sagvari and Zoltan Schoenherz, Laszlo Rajk and Lajos Feher, Janos Kadar and Arpad Szakasits, Endre Bajcsy Zsilinszky and Janos Kiss, Peter Veres and Albert Szent-Gyorgyi. This period had inglorious performers: Nyilas men, informers, denunciators. But there lived a great number of heroes known and unknown, of armed resistance fighters, of pamphlet distributors, partisans and those who offered shelter to the persecuted, those who defied commands. These were the people who safeguarded even amid these difficult circumstances, the nation's honor and dignity; they were those who accepted the heritage of the progressive trends of the 1,000 year-old Hungarian history, who continued the struggles of Dozsa, Tancsics, and Kossuth.

This better part of Magyar-dom was not strong enough with its own strength to fight reaction, the German occupiers, but it was able to win for itself esteem, and when the victory of the Soviet Army created favorable conditions

it had the moral credit to be able to proclaim the program of the country's reconstruction, the rebirth of our homeland and to call the nation to the implementation of this program.

The road we have travelled in 40 years was the road of progress; though, it is true, there were also obstacles and detours. The Hungarian people, possessing the opportunities offered by the liberation, with the leadership of the working class and the party, altered its destiny, created socialist conditions in its independent and free homeland. The development is indicated by milestones such as the taking the means of production into social ownership, industrialization, the reorganization of agriculture into big plants, the laying of the foundations of socialism, the defeat of an anti-revolutionary attack, the liquidation of its consequences, and the founding of an economic upswing.

With just satisfaction we may look on our industry's performance capacity and technological level, even if we know that not all its products are modern. We are proud of our agriculture which with its yields has worked its way up into the front rank of the world, although we bear in mind that its costs are bigger than those of the most developed ones. Our people respect our socialist achievements, full employment, the extensive social welfare, the wide-scale health service, and free education, even though there are problems which still need to be resolved. [end recording]

After Lajos Mehes' speech, Ambassador Bazovskiy also spoke. Then wreaths were laid at the memorial by Lajos Mehes on behalf of the MSZMP, Dr Emil Schultheisz, minister of health, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, and Nikolay Bazovskiy on behalf of the liberating USSR. Flowers of gratitude were placed by the County Bekes party, state and mass organizations, representatives of the Soviet Southern Army Group, the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Association, veterans from Penza and of the armed corps, by members of KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] and by the pioneers.

CSO: 2500/5

# ACADEMICIAN ANALYZES ROLE OF STATE IN ECONOMY

LD201846 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 20 Sep 84

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)--The board of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has recently discussed the topic "the economic and social role of state" with a lecture delivered by academician Jozsef Bognar, chairman of the academy's department of economics and jurisprudence. Thursday's "NEPSZABADSAG" carries an interview with Jozsef Bogna on the topic.

First Jozsef Bognar points out that 'it was the pressing demand for streamlining the system of economic management, and the efforts to make social and political life more democratic that called for the scientific study of concepts on the economic and social role of the state and possible actions.'

The academician analyses in detail the part played by the state in the first period of socialist social and economic development, its decisive role in accumulation, in the reshuffle of incomes and in a massive centralization of the revenues of companies. He adds that these steps were necessary in a society going through transition, but they were accompanied by a practice of economic organization that exerted an unfavourable impact even in the first period and contributed to the "economy of scarcity."

'The point is, first of all,' expounds academician Bognar, 'that the state-centralized social and economic system adopted a specific model of economic growth which could be termed as a forced primary accumulation, which besides a marked orientation for growth, showed insensitiveness to labour and other sources of economy, and a severe "economy of scarcity".'

The debate, which started in the late (?fifties) on the basis of demands for transforming the role of the state, reducing its jurisdiction and separating more definitely the tasks of state and economic units, has given rise to extremist ideas, suggesting that there was no need to limit the expansion of market conditions and that the state should 'move out' of the economy as it were.

Academician Bognar resolutely refutes these ideas.

'It is obvious that today's economy, as a complicated structure has become too immense and unmanageable for the state as the only entrepreneur. On the

other hand, it [words indistinct] adaptation to changes in world economy and even a lot of other things call for the state's guidance and contribution.'

'But if the economic policy is wrong or the mechanism conveying economic processes is inadequate then the tasks set forth by the state will not be done. Conversely, a state that is selective enough in finding the right means to influence economic processes and is able to pinpoint possible actions and restrictions, does not need to fall back on issuing directives. It is obvious that the real "power" of a successful government is greater than that of those which are unable to achieve their targets despite or rather due to this direct interference.'

'Therefore, the state does not and cannot march out from the economy. It is wrong to assume that a greater company independence is the opposite of a planned economy. Therefore the contradiction "state or market", "plan or market" is false--they are only seemingly alternatives. We have to maintain the central managing function of the state, parallel with the extension of the entrepreneur sphere, and the state continues to carry the burdens of the main tasks and the risk of the enterprise. In addition, the authoritative and administrative function of the state remains in effect, and it is necessary to transform its system of means and to carry out economic management by economic means.'

Academician Bogнар calls 'the division of the ownership function of the state, and the establishment of diverging ownership forms and the free flux of means, including capital and labour,' as the most important changes which are drafted in the resolutions of leading bodies and have to be implemented by the end of the mid-80's. 'Concurrently, the actual influence of working collectives and their long-term interest in doing their jobs will be more emphasized along with the development of the institutions of public information activity and their procedures.'

Jozsef Bogнар states that future research will start from the following: 'Even in long term there is a need for the development of [words indistinct] of support measures and institutions. We have to be aware of that, even under our socialist circumstances, these processes lead to social, economic and other inequalities, so an efficient social policy is required to "manage" them and the gradual reduction of tensions that develop in goods and price relations.'

'In accordance with the socialist character of our society, the state has to make efforts to reduce differences in opportunity and inequality between citizens, as this is the only means to improve the productivity of the society,' states Jozsef Bogнар and points out that 'the assistance given to people at a disadvantage and the reduction of social tensions place greater financial burdens on the state and this may in fact lead to freezing encouragement and enterprise. No advance is conceivable in the economy and no improvement can be guaranteed for people at a disadvantage unless the whole society is able to put out a performance considerably higher than now.'

Academician Bogнар finally states that 'it is only through developing the economy and its democratic practice as well as political and social stability and economic flexibility that the ways of overcoming the contradictions of these two targets may be found.'

CSO: 2500/5

INTERVIEWS, DESCRIPTIONS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

Kecskemet FORRAS in Hungarian Aug 84 pp 26-31

[Article by Andras B. Balint: "Teaching Office"]

[Text] "For what purpose do we exist, Balint?"

"I stand up, but I don't say anything. The reverend father waits a moment, then approaches very leisurely, grabs my earlock and yanks upwards. He doesn't pull--he yanks. So it hurts more."

"We exist," he syllabifies, "in order to know and love God, to serve Him and, by so doing, to find salvation, to get to the kingdom of heaven. Do you understand now?...."

If religious instruction is mentioned, this picture comes immediately to my mind. I was a second grader and a fierce enemy of the verbatim memorization of any kind of text. I was unable to learn the poem written for Stalin's death and the small catechism as well.

Out of a 33-member class, 22 of us attended the school's optional instruction in religion; with two exceptions every boy baptized a Catholic was enrolled by his parents. In those days, in 1953, this was a surprisingly high proportion. The principal threatened to no avail, and in vain he held a parental meeting to point out that behind religion the plot of the imperialists must be perceived; the mothers just enrolled their children. If God is an imperialist, He is still God.

Today 7-10 percent of our country's primary school pupils attend religious instruction, and so the interest has declined profoundly. It is taught only in the church in Budapest and the larger provincial cities; religious instruction in school has practically ceased to exist. In most places in the countryside, however, religious instruction is given in some classrooms.

"It's better in school because the child is more disciplined, and the surroundings have an effect on him. So his sense of duty becomes more intense," thinks a Calvinist clergyman of a large village.

According to a vicar from Pest:

"I am positively delighted that I don't have to teach the class, let's say, immediately after regular instruction. This way the child first goes home, has dinner, studies, and only then can religious instruction come, as a special program, a solemn act. The surroundings are different, too; there are no long benches, nothing which would remind them of school's shackles and make them uncomfortable."

In a capital city border district investigated 3 years ago, 370 schoolchildren took part in church religious instruction in all denominations. It is surprising, however, that since then the number has risen profoundly; last year there were 400 Catholic students alone. It is true that among the Protestants students of religion are insignificantly few; altogether 30 attend the course which precedes confirmation. However, they, do not regard as religious instruction the weekly Bible class, which in addition to adults--the elderly in particular--attracts more and more children.

And older students (high school graduates, university students) and adults are missing from the foregoing data. The church prepares no report on them; in the estimate of one of the clergymen there might be 200 in a given district.

The level and in part the topics of instruction depend on the teacher of religion. There are those who invest tremendous energy in it, and there are others who scarcely care about young people; it is a question of one's temperament. And should school methods be employed, with oral examinations and written tests, or should one discuss the topic which has just come up? I have been in a situation where the children could hardly wait for the 50 minutes to end, and in another place where after the lapse of 2 hours it wasn't possible to get the gathering to leave.

One of the older district Catholic priests--he was ordained a quarter of a century ago--summed up in this manner the experiences he had acquired in teaching religion:

"I have spent 20 of the 25 years in the countryside, and what's more, among the good Palots people, where in any case the importance of religious instruction is greater than in Pest. Many more children participate in it, at least 80 percent of the school pupils. It is not this way nationwide, but up there in Nograd people take their religion seriously. The instruction takes place in school, only the course in preparation for Holy Communion is arranged in the church. The situation is different in the city. In the early and mid-1960s there was so much pressure on the parents that school instruction in religion almost disappeared from one year to the next, everyone was afraid to have his daughter or son enrolled. It's interesting that it didn't develop this way in the 1950s, the time of the personal cult, although even then there were certain reprisals against the parents of enrolled children. After 1956 the number of applicants for religious instruction grew by leaps and bounds, and this brought discredit on materialistic public education; something had to be done. The methods were different everywhere. I heard of a case where the principal did not even announce the legally prescribed day of enrollment for religious

instruction. In some other place it was announced all right, but there was some politically trustworthy teacher there, and he tried to talk the parents out of it by saying that it could be a great disadvantage from the viewpoint of continuation of studies. Many were taken in by it. It also happened in the countryside that the workers at the producer cooperative were given an entire day's work on the day of enrollment for religious instruction, and they had to report hourly at the office. Where I was serving, it also occurred that the school sent word to the leaders of the state economy about who had his child enrolled, and the party secretary made every effort to get the parents to cancel the enrollment. The men in general shifted the responsibility onto the women; the women, however, devout Catholics, did not yield. The father of one of my students of religion was a rather high-ranking military officer, a party member, he didn't know in advance that his wife had enrolled his son. The child, by the way, had been born after a great many examinations and treatments for infertility, both expected a lot from him. The wife said that if her husband didn't like the fact that she was raising the child religiously, he could leave. The officer gave an honest report to his superior about how the situation stood. They said nothing to the officer, they realized that family unity is the most important thing. But they were not that tolerant everywhere. The kindergarten workers, for example, were viciously browbeaten, they came to me crying, asking what they should do; not the kindergarten teachers, but the kitchen girls and the dry nurses. Of course, anyone who had already had her child enrolled had no worry, threats were to no avail... If at any time the state considers religious practice a private affair, why does it ask for statistics about students of religion? Because this is the bane of the entire matter: the bureaucracy. The school leadership is given a tongue-lashing if in 1 year there are more students of religion than there were the previous year. It's ridiculous, but here, as in the economy, it's the baseline view--which condemns so many things--that carries weight. So emphasis was then placed on church instruction, no one sees who is a frequent visitor there, neither the teachers nor the parents badger the children, everyone can be satisfied. Only... we lost a battle, and we were forced to relinquish an important area, at least in the cities."

"Whom does the soul of man resemble?" asked the reverend father during the next class.

"The soul of man resembles God."

"How does our soul resemble God?"

"Our soul resembles God in that it has intelligence and free will."

One June morning, on the day of enrollment for religious instruction, I took a seat in the faculty lounge of one of the district's primary schools. Altogether two had come, and the on-duty teacher--one of the principal's assistants--had conscientiously enrolled them.

"And the two will attend religious instruction?"

"No, they won't. We send the application form to the district council's cultural division, they suggest to the vicar that he redirect the kid to the church group. That way the problem is solved."

"And if by chance 30 parents would come now all at once?"

"I would enroll them [their children]. I wouldn't be praised for it, but strictly speaking there's nothing I can do about it."

"Can the clergyman publicize enrollment for religious instruction?"

"From the pulpit, during church services, yes. But going from house to house and canvassing is prohibited."

"Why?"

"I don't have the slightest idea. It's prohibited. Despite this, there was a community where the sexton or the cleaning woman did the canvassing. He or she received 20 forints from the clergyman for each applicant."

"It's not a large sum."

"Ten years ago, when the episode occurred, it was worth more."

"What would happen if some denomination's clergyman--perhaps each of them--announces that he would like to recruit applicants in school. Accordingly, he would come in during some long pause and...."

"Where do you live, man? We would inform the council, and the person or persons concerned would be straightened out. The clergyman can recruit only in church."

Altogether 10 people in the district register for religious instruction; three of them are the sons of a local Calvinist minister. But naturally they are also advised to learn from their father at home or in church....

Sixteen thousand Catholics belong officially to the central parish. In 1978, altogether 800 heard the six masses held on Sundays, in 1980 nearly 3,000. Reason for the growth: the parish was taken over by a new church director and a new chaplain whose training and vitality far surpass that of their predecessors. Earlier in this district there were practically no students of religion; now their number exceeds one hundred.

"But it is certain that someone who enrolls will stick with it, and it is certain that he takes religion seriously," claims the chaplain, Sandor Csemo. "In my opinion, the kids prefer coming to the church, here they don't have to be afraid of the mockery of teachers or their nonbelieving companions. They're at ease."

"Would you approve if compulsory religious instruction were introduced?"

"No. In the first place, clergymen are scarce, they couldn't handle the enormous number of children. And in the second place, religion is a subject to be chosen freely, it's not possible to compel anyone to study religion. The compulsory task would elicit just the opposite effect."

"They are required to study Hungarian, physics, mathematics."

"Religion is different, it's not solely knowledge. It's more than that and it's less than that, too. Someone who has a need for it studies it, but someone for whom it is alien prefers not to concern himself with it."

I sit in on a Thursday evening class for high school students. Eighteen come, 12 girls and 6 boys. The meeting begins with a prayer, which is said--quite freely--by a pretty girl. The chaplain gives a brief introduction to religion's role in the modern world; the young people break in, ask questions, giggle. They come to the stage where man's elementary need is belief--not necessarily in God, but in something. A somewhat vulgar question-and-answer sequence develops about whether the confidence placed by the communists in the advent of a classless society qualifies as belief, and then they decide that it does. Finally, the conversation turns to the public nature of religious life; one of the writings of clergyman Peter Veres is quoted in connection with this.

I'm a little surprised; among the 18 young people--there are also one or two university students--no one knows who Peter Veres was. A boy wearing glasses throws in that he is now the minister of foreign affairs, but it immediately comes to light that he is thinking of the foreign trade minister who writes his name with two s's. The chaplain is ashamed, but the cultural shortcoming of the students of religion is not his fault.

"What's the difference between philosophy and religion?" he asks next.

He receives stereotyped answers, the essence of which is that there is no difference: religion--Christianity--is a philosophical school. New names are heard--Pascal, Kant, Hegel--and once again light is shed on the students' ignorance: they know nothing about the famous philosophers.

The chaplain turns to the older ones. "But surely you've studied marxism at the university, weren't they mentioned there?"

"The section on the history of philosophy is just reading selections, not examination material, so we just skim through it, and that's it...."

One of the teachers at the district high school--with the approval of his colleagues--complains that the children are not even familiar with the names of well-known biblical characters, so they simply do not understand the poems of Ady or Babits.

"Wouldn't it be possible to acquaint them with biblical stories within the framework of the foundations of our world view?"

"The few classes are not enough for that, and besides, the Bible is not a foundation of our world view... But there is talk that a new subject of instruction under the title of biblical knowledge will be started, only nobody knows when."

I ask the principal if he agrees to my sitting in on a few world view classes. He says that the subject teacher's consent is necessary for this; the teacher, however, does not grant it... According to the principal's malicious remark, it's better because the classes are as turbulent as when fourth graders are questioned about the catechism. That sort of atheistic catechism.

For what purpose do we exist?...

Electromechanician Kalman Takacs could have asked himself this when, at the age of 25, he knocked on the door of one of the district parsonages and asked the reverend father to baptize him.

"There are some things one must know for that, my son. About the Holy Scripture, the fundamental principles of Christianity, our articles of faith."

"A baby doesn't know, but it's still baptized."

"Maybe you feel like a newborn?"

So it happened that Kalman went to the priest's residence for weeks to learn the basic principles of Catholicism. On one occasion I myself was present during the conversation; the young man displayed a surprising indifference toward the questions. After the class we walked together slowly to the bus stop.

"Tell me, if this short course is such a burden for you, why did you decide to get baptized as an adult?"

"Even in my childhood I felt that I stood out from the others because I wasn't baptized. Like some pagan...."

"Is that all?"

"I believe there is a God and a hereafter. And then...."

"Then?"

"...I want to get married, and my fiancée made it a condition that we hold a church wedding. She's deeply religious. But they will marry us only if I am baptized."

"And the vicar knows this?"

"Of course. One time I let the cat out of the bag, but he just smiled. He said the important thing for him was to have one more lamb in the fold."

"And where are you holding the wedding?"

"Possibly in the center of town with the Franciscans."

"Do you live in that area?"

"No, both of us live here in the district. I work here, too, a lot of people know me. I'm the trade union's youth delegate and, well, it's more peaceful...."

"What must we believe in order to be able to find salvation?"

"In order to be able to find salvation we must believe what God has revealed...."

He who, already in adolescence, commits himself deeply to religious belief is not content with one or two hours of religious instruction a week, but enrolls in a church high school. Eight Catholic and two Calvinist high schools operate in Hungary, and the Jewish people also have their own high school. The Council of Free Churches, which coordinates the small churches, has none; according to their believers, the church school is an undesirable institution, and general education is the state's task.

Gabor Lovasz is finishing the fourth year in one of the large traditional Catholic high schools. He lives in the district. We met during winter vacation when the students are released from the boarding school for 2 weeks.

"Why did you enroll in a church school?"

"My parents wanted me to. My older brother went there, too."

"Did you want to do it, too?"

"They told me it was a good school, that the teachers were excellent. It's true. I can't say anything bad about them."

"And God? How do you get along with Him?"

"So-so. I believe He exists, but I can't accept the world He created the way it is. Human beings have done a great deal of damage to it."

"And they've improved it, too, don't you think?"

"Of course, only...the whole thing is so contradictory. Sometimes I become furious, and then God doesn't interest me, I'd rather not bother with Him."

"What do you want to be?"

"I have no idea. Maybe a doctor. It's very good if a person is able to cure the afflictions of others. Or a forestry engineer. We have a lot of debts with respect to nature."

"What's your opinion of nonbelievers?"

"I don't think they're worse than we are. There are many intelligent and many rattlebrained figures among them, just as there are among human beings in general. In my opinion, what counts is not who believes and who doesn't, but what one puts on the table. The faithful believe that if they pray and obey the commandments, they will find salvation. Not on your life! We have to accept responsibility in our earthly existence, otherwise it would be tremendously simple...."

"Do you consider the Calvinist Church more authentic than the others?"

"More untainted. The blood of those who died in the Inquisition does not stick to it. Although if I think about Calvin's strictness...he also did one or two harsh things. But in its present-day form our church is simpler and more unsullied than the Catholic. I can't stand the pomp, I become nauseous from the smoke of incense. And the fuss surrounding the Pope. I--and everyone--need a companion in this miserable life, not a charismatic leader."

"What do you think: when you graduate from high school, will you know more than your contemporary who went to a secular school?"

"That will be revealed in the entrance examination. I'll know as much as he does. I have a lot of friends, girls and boys, they're not more educated than I am."

"Have you ever been in love?"

"What guy hasn't been? If you're curious, I've already reached the stage, but then I still didn't go to bed with the girl. Not because of the Sixth Commandment; I just realized that something more, a really deep relationship, is necessary for that."

"And when you find one like that, will you do it?"

"Yes. Love is losing yourself completely in another person, and in my opinion it doesn't matter if there's a marriage certificate or not. I'll do it and I won't regret it. Love is not a crime but fulfillment of the divine command."

Among the district's Catholic pupils I strike up an acquaintance with a girl who is a student at the Franciscan high school of Szentendre. One morning I travel on Budapest Suburban Railway to a small town on the banks of the Danube. The priest teachers welcome me in a friendly manner and answer each of my questions.

The overwhelming majority of students are religious, but there are among them one or two doubters and even an unswerving atheist, the teachers acknowledge. Yet they go there gladly; after all, the level of scholastic instruction is admittedly high, its mentality is modern, its community life is exemplary.

"Half of the 168 students are boys, half are girls. Preceding the state schools, this was the first coeducational institute in the country," explains the principal. "For the most part they come from Pest, but many of them are the children of Szentendre and the neighboring region. Half of the parents are intellectuals, the rest are workers, and occasionally there are one or two farmers or artisans."

Father Vince, a quiet young man, talks about the religious instruction:

"In many families our pupils are the most religious, so we cannot build on the parents' influence. We make every effort to introduce them to the philosophical and ethical teachings of religion and to arouse their interest in transcendental matters. But we don't force them to attend mass, we don't make them receive the sacraments, particularly since students of different faiths attend the school. We help them with the problems of their private lives and help heal their spiritual wounds."

"Within the framework of confession?"

"By no means! As teachers," interrupts Father Laszlo, teacher of Hungarian and Russian, "it happens time after time that they ask for advice in emotional matters, and we cannot remain uninvolved. But why should we?...."

The atmosphere is average in the religious instruction class for third-year girls. I leaf through the book--right now they are studying the history of salvation. The text is somewhat summarized and here and there annoyingly oversimplified. But the children are interested, and when we converse, they are passionate and plainspoken.

"Has anybody had difficulties because of attending a church school?"

"Not me personally, but my dad was expelled from the party because of it," reports Erzsi.

"I came over after the second year from a state school, the teachers looked at me in a rather ugly way. They tried to talk me out of it, they even lowered my grade in conduct, nothing else happened."

"I had heard that they don't accept people from here for the teachers' training college," announces Kati. "I know someone who was turned down."

Father Vince adds, however: just this year two girls were accepted, and what's more, right after graduation. For years 75 percent of the Franciscan students of Szentendre have continued their education: someone whom the faculty recommends for the university usually holds his own in the entrance examination.

But I don't know what Father Vince has been involved in since I went there. He left the order, got married and fathered children. This is his individual story of salvation.

"Who teaches unerringly in the mother church the true religion, Balint?"

"In the mother church the true religion is taught unerringly by the teaching office, or the church. The teaching church is infallible."

In the end I only received a grade of satisfactory in religion--and a powerful slap in the face at home. I was deeply disappointed in my father and the teaching office.

12327

CSO: 2500/592

BRIEFS

NEW ZAIRE ENVOY--Rezso Trautman, deputy chairman of the Presidential Council, received on Thursday, 30 August, Bintou a-Tshiabola [name as published], the new ambassador of the Republic of Zaire in Hungary, who presented his credentials. [AU161955 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Aug 84 p 8 AU]

POLAND, MONGOLIA ENVOYS' CREDENTIALS--Warsaw, 3 Sep (MTI)--Gyorgy Biczó, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Poland, presented his credentials to Henryk Jablonski, president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Monday. The ingoing ambassador met Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP CC and prime minister. Ulaanbaatar, 3 Sep (MTI)--Laszlo Kadar, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Mongolian People's Republic, presented his credentials to Nyamyn Jagbaral, vice-chairman of the presidium of the peoples' Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Saturday. [LD032232 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT 3 Sep 84]

NEW ENVOY TO PAKISTAN--Dr Karoly Kovacs, Hungary's new ambassador to Pakistan, presented his credentials to Ziaul Haq, head of state, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. [Text] [AU161955 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Sep 84 p 8 AU]

CUBAN YOUTH DELEGATION DEPARTS--At the invitation of the Hungarian Communist Youth League Central Committee, a delegation of the Cuban Young Communist Union led by Carlos Lage Davila, first secretary of the union, visited Hungary from 5 to 8 September. At the talks, the leaders of the two youth organizations reviewed the possibilities of further developing bilateral relations, current issues of the international youth movement, and preparations for the 12th world youth and student meeting. The Cuban delegation was received by Karoly Nemeth, member of the Politburo of the MSZMP, Central Committee secretary. The guests paid a visit to the State Committee for Youth and to the Semmelweis Medical Sciences University, studied the political and economic life of Fejer County, and met with Cuban youth working at the Ikarus factory in Szekesfehervar and the textile factory of Kispeszt, and with representatives of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The delegation of the Cuban Communist Youth Union left Hungary on Saturday, 6 September. [Text] [AU161955 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Sep 84 p 7 AU]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO LIBYA--Budapest, 10 Sep (MTI)--Ede John, Hungary's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, paid calls on Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Istvan Sarlos, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, speaker of Parliament. Ede John is soon to leave for his station. [Text] [LD110213 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 10 Sep 84 LD]

SARLOS RECEIVES FINNISH MINISTER--Istvan Sarlos, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on Tuesday, 11 September, in the Parliament, Matti Luttinen, minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Finland. Participating in the talks was Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior, and also present was Osmo Vainola, Finland's ambassador in Budapest. [Text] [AU161955 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Sep 84 p 8 AU]

NEW SYRIAN ENVOY--Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council, Istvan Sarlos, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, chairman of the National Assembly, received Zoltan Szephelyi, Hungary's ambassador accredited to the Syrian Arab Republic, who will leave for his post in the near future. [Text] [AU190940 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Sep 84 p 8 AU]

AUSTRIAN DIPLOMAT VISIT--Dr Gerald Hinteregger, general secretary of the Austrian Foreign Ministry, visited Hungary from 17 to 18 September, at the invitation of Janos Nagy, state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He held talks with leading officials of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the development of relations between the two countries and on the international situation, primarily on the current issues of European security and cooperation, on the Stockholm conference, and on the cultural forum to be organized in Budapest in October, 1985. The Austrian diplomat was received by Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [AU190940 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Sep 84 p 1 AU]

JOINT BOOK ON USSR TIES--Moscow, 20 Sep (MTI)--"Soviet-Hungarian Relations, 1977-1982," the fourth joint publication of the Soviet and Hungarian foreign ministries, has been recently published by the Moscow Politizdat Publishing House. The book includes some major documents reflecting on the work of the CPSU and the HSWP in the development and deepening of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic in all walks of political, economic and cultural life. Most documents in the book are published for the first time. [Text] [LD210200 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 20 Sep 84 LD]

CSSR CULTURE; EDUCATION GROUP--Budapest, 20 Sep (MTI)--The 23d session of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Cultural and Educational Working Committee was held in Budapest on September 18-20. The Hungarian negotiating party was led by Ferenc Ratkai, deputy minister of culture, and the Czechoslovak one, by Deputy Foreign Minister Roman Narozny. Issues on the cooperation of artistic federations and higher educational units, the principles of the 1986-1990 cultural, educational and scientific cooperation work plan and the development of the activity of cultural centres were discussed. Roman Narozny met Andras Knopp,

deputy head of the HSWP Central Committee's Scientific, Public Educational and Cultural Department, and Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Roska. [Text] [LD210200 Budapest MTI in English 1750 GMT 20 Sep 84 LD]

ESTONIAN DELEGATION VISIT--An Estonian delegation led by Nikolay Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, visited Hungary from 12 to 19 September. Ganyushov was received by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. He held talks with Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the economic relations between Hungary and the Estonian SSR and on the preparations for the Hungarian Economic Days to be organized in Tallin in the near future. The head of the delegation also held talks with Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade, and Laszlo Ballai, head of a department of the MSZMP Central Committee. The Estonian delegation visited Hungary to mark the first time that the Estonian SSR is being represented by an independent national pavillion at the Budapest International Fair, in the framework of the Soviet exhibition. The Estonian guests visited several light industry enterprises in Budapest. [Text] [AU221846 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Sep 84 p 4 AU]

SWEDISH PARTY DELEGATION VISIT--A delegation of the Swedish Communist Left Party led by Edmund T. Larsson, head of a department of the Central Committee, visited Hungary from 12 to 19 September at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee. The delegation became acquainted with experiences and activities, the MSZMP's economic policy activity and studied the questions of further development of economic macromanagement. The delegation was received by Ferenc Havasi, Politburo member and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. The Swedes held talks with Laszlo Ballai, head of the MSZMP Central Committee's Department of Economic Policy; Istvan Marko, deputy general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions; Kalman Gernyi, deputy chairman of the Municipal Council's Executive Committee; and Jozsef Molnar, chairman of the National Association of Tradesmen. The delegation visited Kicskemet, met with the leaders of the MSZMP Bacs Kiskun county committee; and visited industrial and agricultural enterprises. The delegation left Hungary on Wednesday, 19 September. [Excerpt] [AU221846 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Sep 84 p 4 AU]

BRAZILIAN MARKETING--Budapest, 21 Sep (MTI)--Lajos Faluvegi, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and president of the National Planning Office, Friday met the visiting president of the Brasil Marketing Internacional S.A. Dr Paolo Manuel Protasio. The parties reviewed the cooperation of Hungarian and Brazilian companies, and discussed expansion including joint third marketing possibilities. [Text] [LD220302 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 21 Sep 84 LD]

FRENCH COMMUNISTS VISIT--Budapest, 21 Sep (MTI)--A delegation of the French Communist Party (PCF), headed by Richard Sanchez, head of the CC's Agrar-Policy Department, visited Hungary from September 17 to 21 on the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee. The PCF delegation studied the agrar policy and the operation of the agricultural cooperative movement. Laszlo Ballai, head of the HSWP CC's Economic Policy Department, met the delegation. Imre Kovacs, deputy head of CC's department, and Janos Eleki, secretary-general

of the National Council of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives, held talks with the delegation, which visited several agricultural cooperatives and state farms. [Text] [LD220302 Budapest MTI in English 1754 GMT 21 Sep 84 LD]

MSZMP DELEGATION IN POLAND--Budapest, 21 Sep (MTI)--A HSWP Party Workers' delegation, headed by Janos Barabas, deputy head of the CC's Agit-prop Department, visited Warsaw from September 18 to 21 on the invitation of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee. The delegation met Jan Glowczyk, alternate member of the PUWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and held talks with Bogdan Jachacz, head of the CC's Press, Radio and Television Department, and Jerzy Majka, head of the Information Department, on ideological work and international communication. The delegation also met Jerzy Urban, spokesman of the Polish Government. [Text] [LD220302 Budapest in English 1810 GMT 21 Sep 84 LD]

NEW ALGERIAN ENVOY--Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council, received on Thursday, 20 September, Mohammed Mechat, [name as published] the new ambassador of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to Hungary, who presented his credentials. [Text] [AU251845 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Sep 84 p 8 AU]

NEW ENVOY TO LIBYA--John Ede, Hungary's new ambassador to Libya, presented his credentials in Tripoli and with this began his activity in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. [Text] [AU251845 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Sep 84 p 8 AU]

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM DPRK--A delegation of the Federation of Societies for Technology and Natural Sciences, led by Gabor Soos, the federation's cochairman, paid a visit to the DPRK from 2 to 19 September at the invitation of the Korean National Industrial and Technological Association. The delegation held talks with Sin Ki-Chon, deputy chairman of the Korean National Industry and Technology Association, and Guan Dong Miang [name as transliterated], general secretary, on the possibilities of technical-scientific cooperation between the two organizations and on deepening relations. The Hungarian delegation paid a visit, among other things, to the agricultural production cooperative of Chon San [name as transliterated], the Wagon Factory of Van San [name as transliterated], and to the Textile Combine of Pyongyang. The representatives of the two organizations signed an agreement on technical-scientific cooperation. [Text] [AU251845 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Sep 84 p 5 AU]

AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN--Budapest, 24 Sep (MTI)--Hungary is soon to send a new ambassador to Britain, Matyas Domokos. Prior to his departure he was seen by Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Deputy Prime Minister Istvan Sarlos, and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly. [Text] LD250221 Budapest MTI in English 1738 GMT 24 Sep 84 LD]

ENVOY TO ETHIOPIA--Budapest, 24 Sep (MTI)--Gyula Bogнар, Hungary's ingoing ambassador to Ethiopia, presented his credentials to Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the provisional Military Administrative Council, in Addis Ababa Monday. [Text] [LD250221 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 24 Sep 84 LD]

GASPAR FOR PRAGUE--Budapest, 24 Sep (MTI)--Sandor Gaspar, president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, left for Prague Monday to make preparations for the coming session of the General Council and some current tasks of the World Organization. [Text] [LD250221 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 24 Sep 84 LD]

TRADE MINISTER IN BELGRADE--Budapest, 25 Sep (MTI)--Zoltan Juhar, Hungarian minister of internal trade, held talks with Sinica Korica, federal secretary for market and economy, in Belgrade on September 24 to 25. The parties discussed the extension of the exchange of consumer goods. It was stated that border trade has developed favourably and its value amounts to 100 million dollars. The sides discussed cooperation relations, stressing that their promotion, together with that of border trade, is of mutual interest. It was stated that two-way tourism developed favourably and can be further developed by the support of individual and organized travel and joint actions in third countries. A memorandum was signed on the talks. Zoltan Juhar met Janez Zemljanic, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council. [Text] [LD260738 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 25 Sep 84 LD]

HUNGARIAN-CSSR COOPERATION--The 16th session of the permanent working committee of regional development of the Hungarian-CSSR mixed economic and techno-scientific cooperation committee began in Mihalyi, Gyor-Sopron County, on Monday 24 September. On the first day of the meetings, Antal Jantner, deputy minister of construction and urban development, the Hungarian chairman of the committee, and Jan Ferianc, deputy chairman of the Slovakian planning committee, the CSSR chairman of the committee, informed the meeting about the economic development of the neighboring countries and about the regional and housing development tasks for 1983-84. At the 4-day meeting, the participants will mutually inform each other about the main goals of their countries' area development policies. They will review the experience gained through the cooperation of council bodies in the border area counties, and will make proposals for the further development of cooperation. They will also exchange views on the relations between the two sides' tourism bodies, on the activity of environment protection in the course of regional development, and on the results of the joint work of the Hungarian and Slovak planning and research institutes. [Text] [AU261728 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Sep 84 p 5 AU]

HUNGARIAN-BAVARIAN ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION--An environmental protection delegation, led by Alfred Dick, Bavarian minister of district development and environmental protection, visited Hungary from 20 to 24 September. The Bavarian state minister held talks in Budapest with Kalman Abraham, state secretary, chairman of the National Environmental and Nature Protection Office, on the possibilities of further development of Hungarian-Bavarian environmental protection cooperation. The Bavarian delegation paid a visit to the Institute of Environmental Protection and studied on the spot the research activity on nature protection underway in the National Park in Kiskunsag. [Text] [AU261728 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Sep 84 p 5 AU]

LEADERS ATTEND OPERA REOPENING--The 100 year-old Hungarian State Opera, back in its splendor of the past after years of renovations, opened its gates tonight with a gala program. The gala was attended by Mr Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP; President Pal Losonczi; and Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar. The ceremony was addressed by Deputy Prime Minister Istvan Sarlos, a member of the party's Political Committee. [Text] [LD272332 Budapest in English to Europe 2030 GMT 27 Sep 84]

CSO: 2500/5

## CRITIC REBUKES URBAN, ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 38, 16 Sep 84 p 8

[Article by Kisiel: "My Little Doubt"]

[Text] In my lifetime, I have contributed to various Polish and foreign journals, but my contributions have never expressed "the editor's views," simply my own. Basically, each of my articles or columns should carry the words "point of view." The readers and editors generally realize this by now, though I sometimes still remind them of it. I have frequently written that this column is my private organ and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY need not feel involved, just as I am not responsible for the content or quality of the other columns in the weekly. I have to admit that the editor, Turowicz, understood my point immediately (that is in April 1945, when I made my debut here with the article "War Themes," which everyone found dubious; this article appealed to authors to stop writing about the war, which was still under way at that time) and has for long years tolerated all my infidelities with praiseworthy patience. You have to admit that the Polish People's Republic knows no other example of such long-standing liberalism. Long live!

Articulating only one's own self, one's own thoughts and moods, which often have little in common with the surrounding and determining ("being determines consciousness") reality is an anachronistic attitude in Poland, I realize this, but since things are what they are, I have to go on, especially as this is--as far as my memory serves me--the fourth editorial team of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY which still prints my articles, while the patient reading audience invariably swallows the stuff. They must be thinking that even a single specimen of an original insect enriches nature--the nature of the native country.

So much for the introduction. As many cleverer readers will have guessed, all the above is a shield, which I will use to take a polemical bite at TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. I am going to do this in connection with the editorial, a very good one incidentally, entitled "Amnesty" [TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 31--see PNB of 28-30 July]. The whole range of Polish papers gave the weekly a hell of a rebuke for this editorial, which greatly pleased me incidentally, as it proved that it had touched on a sore point. So?

"Et tu Brute contra me?" the editor will ask. Well, congratulations on the article, but I will find fault with it anyway. Finding fault is one of my chief obsessions these days. The critic Karol Irzykowski used to attack friends and followers, believing that attacking one's enemies was too low. He also liked to question his own views, claiming that he was the one best prepared to do this, as he knew them best. And in general he recommended doubting, first of all doubting that which is the closest and apparently the most obvious. So....

While reading this commentary with appreciation and satisfaction, I came across an idea which for a short while spurred my critical senses. However, I forgot about it and it was not until I read a reference to the matter in Jan Rem's polemical diatribe devoted to Turowicz in TU i TERAZ [see PNB of 10 August] that I remembered it again.

We all know who Jan Rem is and what sort of boxing he goes in for. He deals out his blows fast with both fists at whatever he can hit to score points; he is a reliable producer of commissioned polemics; naturally, one need not bother about him, for he loves the abstract and not the substance, he is concerned about the technique of the blow and not about the problem itself. However, this sort of fighter, who flails around regardless of the target, can sometimes, despite the hurry, execute a straight blow to the liver. The very same spot at which I would have aimed if it had occurred to me. But it had not.

The liver in this case was the sentence from the article "Amnesty" in which our author (authors?) writes that conciliation with the Polish people "...must begin with the fulfillment of at least a few, very important public expectations, namely: 1) a consistent implementation of the economic reform, which should involve the broadest possible application of market laws, the independence of industrial plants and support for private farming and private trades..."

That is the weak spot, the aching liver which Rem attacks, claiming that the social majority does not at all desire "the broad application of market laws" and the consequent differentiation of prices and incomes; what it wants is a welfare state, egalitarian rationing and putting a stop to private "arbitrariness" and "excessive" incomes.

That is what Rem says and who knows, he may well be right, for after 40 years plenty of people have forgotten the meaning of the words market and market laws, or rather, they have not so much forgotten as have never known what these things are. Someone who has never had (swallowed) oysters, for instance, cannot be hungry for them, cannot even describe their taste. Which does not prove that he is right and we have to support him in his error by convincing him that oysters are very bad. I repeat: Rem has hit the liver; I would also like to attack this liver, but from a different position; after all, Rem is a left-handed boxer.

As my readers know, I am for a free-market and decentralized economy, for diverse forms of ownership of the means of production, with preference for the salvational private ownership (which is salvational because it is subject to the economic laws of profit, loss, risk, experiment and bankruptcy), in a word, I

am for modern capitalism, which, synchronized with the palliating and controlling operations of the state, has passed its socioeconomic test in the contemporary world with flying colors.

It has survived crises, assimilated technical and political revolutions and come to terms with the working world, which is, after all, not only its hired labor, but also its market. It should teach us effort, rationality, organization of production and its constant modernization, competitive energy, taking risks, fantasy, permanent inventiveness and changeability.

That is what I think, but does everyone in Poland think so? I do not know! My appeal is to tackle the national dispute not from the political, but from the economic end for that is where the base, the primary cause lies, have not been heeded. And, indeed, one can hardly resist the suspicion that the vast majority of our urban population has lost the habit of thinking in terms of the free market and initiative (or rather, that it has never acquired the habit), that it prefers not to risk free production competition and resigns itself to the state's decisions and care, be it in the form of rationing, pensions, and regular payments even if they are small. People have grown accustomed to passivity. Realizing how too much initiative ends, they have somehow come to terms with the crisis, some of them are surviving it with the help of hard currency or aid in kind. They have reconciled themselves to "a nice little stability" and have let themselves be talked into "a leveling down," which is now called "social justice," they like paid holidays and little effort. In a word, people have grown accustomed, they fear a change which could wake them up from their sleep, they fear an economic change because they have lost the habit, they have never had that experience. In the countryside, you run your farm on your own; in the city, you just get paid.

I am terrified and depressed at this atrophy and resignation, this internal acceptance of the crisis and of not being responsible for anything; but this may be true, Rem may be right here. Only, unlike him, I believe that one sometimes has to oppose public opinion; opinion is not God, it is a product. It is possible to influence the public and make it realize its own weaknesses. But, above all, one has to get to know public opinion!

Why doesn't TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY take up this problem, publishing a questionnaire for instance? We have printed various questionnaires, but no economic ones. In general, the weekly is above down-to-earth matters, devoting its columns to mile-long descriptions of old or new pilgrimages or the history of the snows of yesteryear. Our colleague Ernest Skalski occasionally prints something about the economy, pleasing my hungry heart. But that is too little, too little! Even the Catholic Church in Poland, an institution dedicated to the spirit, was the first to submit the purely material and mundane proposal for an agricultural foundation.

Even the esoteric and theological ZNAK has printed an excellent essay on the material development of Cracow (Jacek Purchla: "The Autonomy of Galicia and the Development of Cracow" No 350).

And what do we do? It is pilgrimages and poems, poems and pilgrimages all the time. Why doesn't the weekly print a questionnaire on economic, social and production matters (even if the answers are to serve the editors only)? So that no left-hander can give us a surprise punch on the liver. Which I would not wish on you or myself.

## BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA BODIES DEBATE LCY DECISIONS

LD022314 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1251 GMT 2 Oct 84

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Oct (TANJUG)--The debate on the decisions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee in Bosnia-Hercegovina has created a positive political climate in which existing problems are increasingly being solved and in which radical changes are being sought in the further development of socialist self-management.

This assessment of the progress of debate on this document of exceptional importance for our further development was put forward in a working discussion among presidents of municipal committees and secretariats of presidiums, as well as presidents of intramunicipal committees of the League of Communists, held in Sarajevo today under the chairmanship of Mato Andric.

Hrvoje Istuk, member of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, said in his opening speech that reports from 90 municipalities in the republic during the debate confirm that "there are high expectations," "that the state of affairs can be changed," and that with this debate the League of Communists has set in train "issues vital for our further development." He assessed, however, that despite all the activity the approach is routine and formalistic. In the majority of basic organizations of the League of Communists problems are perceived more than they are resolved; diverse ideological approaches are being manifested toward individual phenomena, and ideological confusion and confrontation appear when debate is conducted on, for instance, distribution, labor, housing and other vital problems. Certain extremist opinions, to the effect that everything which is wrong in society is the fault of the League of Communists, divert attention from the essence of the debate. In a state in which everything is suspect and everything is criticized, both unity and prestige are lost, Hrvoje Istuk warned.

Hrvoje Istuk, member of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, then spoke about the hostile verbal outburst by a group of young lads in a village near Duvno. We have read about this in the newspapers over the past few days, and this outburst has merited the harshest censure, which it has been given in sociopolitical organizations and in all local communities of the Duvno municipalities. I think that this is the correct

way, giving such manifestations the broadest possible public exposure, and that such reporting in newspapers and other information media are relevant.

It has been established, Istuk stressed, that the best and most correct thing to do is to speak plainly to working people and citizens against everything which opposes brotherhood, unity, equality and the socialist togetherness of the nations and nationalities. This we must foster and practice as widely as possible as the League of Communists, as the SAWP, the Federation of Socialist Youth and as a veterans' organization, Hrvoje Istuk said.

Gojko Ubiparip, president of the republican Executive Council, also spoke at today's working discussion about the economic trends in the republic. He warned that economic results in the first 8 months of the year diverge from expectations, which is primarily due to subjective weaknesses, and especially to irresponsible behavior by the expert and managerial staff of numerous collectives.

CSO: 2800/11

## YUGOSLAVIA

### STATUS OF SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27, 28 Aug 84

[27 Aug 84 p 4]

[Article by Dusan Drazic: "They Are Not Losing a Step"]

[Text] Times are changing even with respect to the Orthodox Church.

This summer one church, in Zemun, published an announcement in a daily newspaper in which it invited believers to travel to the consecration of the church in Jasenovac on 2 September!

The church has assumed the role of a tourist bureau. There is great interest in this even. Several buses will leave just from Belgrade, through the organization of the Zemun church. Believers will also come from other regions of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and even from abroad. Charter flights from the United States and Canada, for example, have been announced, carrying emigres who want to attend this event in Jasenovac on 2 September.

A parish church is being consecrated in Jasenovac; it has been under construction for several years through contributions from believers in Yugoslavia and abroad. It is expected that the church will be formally "opened" by Patriarch German of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

It is worth emphasizing that this is a parish church, and not, as some church circles wish to stress, a "memorial church" to commemorate the victims in Jasenovac.

In any case, this is not the first major religious ceremony that the Serbian Orthodox Church has had recently. Let us recall that last year the shelter at the Pec Patriarchate, which was burned down in a fire, was consecrated. This ceremony took place in a dignified manner, without any kind of excess. It is expected that the official church, for its part, will make efforts to see that the church ceremony in Jasonovac has an exclusively religious nature.

## A Sort of Competition

The Serbian Orthodox Church does not want to fall behind the other large religious communities in Yugoslavia since, we recall, on 3 and 9 September the National Eucharistic Congress of the Catholic Church is in Marija Bistrica, and 3 days later an Islamic Center with an area of 700 square meters is opening in Zagreb!

Isn't this an attempt at a sort of competition among the three largest religious communities in Yugoslavia? Won't this "competition" be initiated by those forces, primarily clericalistic and nationalistic, in all the religious communities, who plot against socialist society and together with the enemy abroad, are trying to use these events to stir up both national and religious hatred?

September is near and events themselves will naturally provide the answers, but it is expected of the Serbian Orthodox Church that the consecration of the church in Jasenovac will in fact proceed, one might say, correctly and with the aim of strengthening togetherness, and not stirring up religious intolerance, especially since relations between society and the Serbian Orthodox Church are now good. They were favorably assessed by the Synod of Bishops, which met recently in Belgrade. This position was reached on the basis of reports from all of the eparchies. As we have learned, it was stated in most of the reports at the synod that relations with the sociopolitical organizations are mostly good. The bishop of Timok assessed this cooperation as extremely good, since in practice there are no unresolved issues with the authorities.

Likewise, the sociopolitical organizations in Serbia, at the regular meetings devoted to cooperation with the religious communities, have felt that relations with the church are basically good. This means in practice that the SFRY Constitution and the Law on the Legal Position of the Religious Communities are for the most part being successfully implemented.

Thus, the citizens' freedom of religion and the activity of the religious communities in the republic are being exercised without hindrance.

## Relations Continually Being Enhanced

State organs and those of the sociopolitical organizations in Serbia are trying to have relations with the Serbian Orthodox Church continually enhanced. It is already well known that solutions have been found for the issues of the health and retirement disability insurance of priests, and protection of the health of monks, nuns, and students at religious schools. Society is also providing considerable funds for the protection of monasteries and other religious facilities, which are of exceptional significance for the history and culture of the Serbian people.

Naturally, here and there, individual events have been able to disrupt an otherwise good cooperation, the trend in which is upward. The highest organs

in Serbia have also felt that in some areas there is a sectarian attitude toward the church and that society's established policy toward the church is not being followed consistently.

The well-known events in Kosovo, especially the arbitrary seizure of church land and the burning of property (the fire at the Pec Patriarchate) have also cast a shadow over otherwise good relations.

In essence, however, the assessment regarding good cooperation remains.

In discussing on one occasion relations with the religious communities, the Presidency of the Serbian Socialist Republic felt that most of the priests had a constructive attitude toward the social community and the self-managing social system, which also offers a full opportunity for the expression of religious feelings. Religious feelings are not and cannot be a barrier to a more active inclusion of believers in all currents of social life. One of the basic conclusions stated 3 years ago was precisely a call for all sociopolitical communities and organizations to try to continue to include priests and believer-citizens in the work of the Socialist Alliance and of other organs and organizations.

In these and other matters, of course, the Association of Priests has a special role. It is precisely from the association that we expect constant and very significant activity to nourish religious tolerance, and to contribute to strengthening the fraternity and unity of our peoples and nationalities, and enhancing relations between the religious communities and society.

On the other hand, the authorities should sometimes resolve the open issues between the state and the religious communities more effectively, precisely in accordance with the constitution and the legal solutions.

The Serbian Orthodox Church, after all, is the largest religious community in the country. Its headquarters is in Belgrade. The autocephalous church has 13 eparchies, of which 21 are in Yugoslavia and eight abroad, about 2,000 parishes, and about 180 men's and women's monasteries. According to the data, 2,500 priests, monks, and nuns are active within the framework of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

The church publishes 10 newspapers and magazines. PRAVOSLAVLJE is published by the Patriarchate with a circulation of about 26,000 copies. SVETOSAVSKO ZVONCE is intended for children and youth (a circulation of 19,000 copies). The largest circulation is that of the bimonthly PRAVOSLAVNI NISIONAR, 45,000 copies. The official newspaper of the Serbian Orthodox Church is GLASNIK.

The Association of Priests publishes its own newspaper, VESNIK, with a circulation of 3,000 copies.

[Insert] Half of the Budget for Education

About 50 percent of the church budget is spent on the education of new priests. The Theological Faculty is in Belgrade, while seminaries are located in Belgrade, Prizren, Sremski Karlovci, and the Krk monastery. At this time there are about 100 students, of whom a considerable number are from Greece. The secondary theological schools have 450 pupils.

[Insert] New Churches, Monasteries, Shelters...

Just before World War II there were 4,200 churches and 220 monasteries. Many of these facilities were destroyed during the war. From 1945 to 1970, 181 churches were built, and more than 840 church facilities were restored. In this period, eight monasteries were also built, and 48 were restored. Although there are no reliable data available, it is believed that from the liberation until now, about 300 churches of the Serbian Orthodox Church have been built.

In talks with state organs, representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church often stress the problems of the construction of new churches, and state that it is in the cities that it is most difficult to obtain permission.

[Insert] Inestimable Wealth

The protection of monasteries and other religious facilities that are under the patronage of the state as cultural monuments should in the future be more an object of attention from the organs of the sociopolitical communities and the expert institutes--primarily the Institute for the Protection of Culture. In this regard, it is necessary, with the corresponding material support, to continue the efforts for more complete implementation of the protection program, and for a further expansion and consolidation of relations and cooperation with Hilandar, since this has to do with enormous cultural-historical wealth.

[28 Aug 84 p 4]

[Article by Dusan Brazic: "Nationalists Without Support"]

[Text] What is disrupting the otherwise good relations between society and the Serbian Orthodox Church? What is society criticizing the church for? What is the church seeking from the state?

There are no ideal relations anywhere, and thus not between society and the church. One issue or another always breaks out, and some problem always appears that casts a shadow (more or less) on relations that could of course be better, as our society constantly desires.

What the Nationalistic Priests Want

Some events in our country, primarily the economic difficulties, the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, and the increasingly more vocal

nationalists, as well as the exacerbation of international relations in the world, have been the signal for some circles in the religious communities and hostilely disposed individuals under the auspices of the church to speak out, and not just to speak out, but also to try to use the church for political purposes, contrary to the SFRY Constitution and the laws on the legal position of the religious communities.

They are using already tested forms, from the organization of pilgrimages to writings in the religious press with tones such that their desire to strengthen the propaganda-political influence of the church on the citizens, especially young people, is more than recognizable. There are individuals, and even groups, who act on the basis of reactionary and socially unacceptable positions which are opposed to the established orientations. This part of the clergy wants to secure for the church a more significant position and impose the church on society as a political partner!

At this time there has been a stronger manifestation in the Serbian Orthodox Church of nationalistic forces trying to impose religion as the protector of the Serbian people and its national interests. These forces particularly became stronger after the events in Kosovo and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. These forces are imposing well-known nationalistic positions on the threat to Serbs and Serbdom, not just in Kosovo but also in other areas in the country. Individuals and clerical groups are developing the thesis of a discriminatory attitude on the part of the state organs toward the Serbian Orthodox Church. Dissatisfied with the role of the church in our society and aiming to exacerbate relations with the state, these forces are attacking representatives of the church who cooperate with the sociopolitical organizations!

The core of the reactionary forces in the Orthodox Church consists of a small group of theologians, primarily monks, which is linked with a minority of the episcopate and the clergy, particularly in the eparchies abroad, as well as with other nationalistic forces outside the church.

It is believed, with complete justice, that these forces under the auspices of the church are not strong enough to disrupt the otherwise good relations with society. This did not even happen at this year's meeting of the synod, when relations with the state were assessed favorably. These forces are acting on the basis of nationalistic positions opposed to self-managing socialist society, against the policy of the equality and fraternity and unity of our peoples and nationalities. There is a firm conviction that those responsible for these activities do not even have support within the religious communities. It must be known, however, that society will not calmly watch the subversive and hostile activity of these and similar circles within the framework of the religious community, but will instead take appropriate measures in accordance with the legal authorizations.

In regard to the enhancement of relations between society and the Serbian Orthodox Church, it would naturally be a great contribution to straighten out relations between the Serbian and Macedonian Orthodox Churches, and recognition of the latter's autonomy would contribute to a great extent to

straightening out relations between society and the religious communities. At this year's synod, which was held from 11 to 16 May in Belgrade, this issue was not on the agenda, however.

#### How the Bishops Defend This

The agenda of the Synod also did not include the case of the bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the United States, who sent a petition for protection of the Serbs in Kosovo to the American authorities. This thoughtless and, one would say, unworthy gesture by three representatives of the Orthodox Church in America was fruitless, since in fact the U.S. administration rejected such requests, considering this an internal affair of Yugoslavia.

It is all the more unlikely that the synod did not react at all to unacceptable conduct by three of its representatives in the U.S., who after all are members of the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Nevertheless, sometimes some stage organs also are responsible for cooperation with the religious communities not being better, through their lack of understanding, slowness, or sectarian attitude. There is a varied range of issues that society has to resolve in connection with the religious communities, from the attitude of educational workers toward children who participate in the St Sava celebrations (in some areas) to the construction of church facilities. Priests and monks are still complaining that irredentism is attacking the property of the churches and monasteries, and thus exerting direct pressure on clerical individuals. The year before last, an entire crop was burnt at the Devit kod Srbica monastery, and a month ago, eight haystacks. It was felt that this was the work of irredentists.

#### The Fate of the Church of St Sava

The construction of religious facilities appears to be a perpetual theme, but some solutions are nevertheless visible, well on the road to being adopted at last. The central issue, in any case, is the church of St Sava in Belgrade. Several years ago an agreement was reached that a house of St Sava would be built on the site of the church of St Sava that had been started. Under pressure from the clergy and believers, the Bishops' Synod, at last year's meeting, gave up on the construction of the house. A position was taken that the Serbian Orthodox Church would stand by the request to have a church of St Sava built. That decision was also confirmed by this year's synod.

For almost 4 decades this issue has to a great extent burdened relations between the church and society. There are more than a few people (in Yugoslavia and abroad) who have blamed the competent organizations in Belgrade and in the republic for the several years of vacillation, pointing out in this regard that churches are built more quickly and more easily in other areas (Zagreb, Titograd, Skoplje, etc), along with mosques and other religious facilities. All indications are that at this time, one should

expect talks on continuing the construction of the St Sava church under certain city planning conditions.

In any case, a theological faculty is being built in Belgrade, and a church in Karaburma is to be built soon. In Zicka and other eparchies a large number of churches have been built, and also existing ones have been rebuilt or other facilities have been built--parish houses, monastery shelters, bell towers... Not one new church has been built in the Sumadija eparchy, however.

Society is making efforts to enhance relations with the religious communities, and to have the good cooperation with the Serbian Orthodox Church be better as early as tomorrow. On the other hand, the church itself should contribute to having these relations develop as successfully as possible. In this regard, Jasenovac should be a new positive example.

#### [Insert] Association of Orthodox Priests

The Association of Orthodox Priests in the SFRY includes the priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Macedonian Orthodox Church, and also priests from the Romanian Orthodox Church from our part of Banat. This association is organized in such a manner that the main Federation of Orthodox Priests in the SFRY combines the work of the five republic federations.

The association was founded in 1889, but was not active during the Balkan and two world wars. After the end of World War II, at the initiative of the priests who participated in the national liberation struggle, it resumed its work. For the 80th anniversary of the association, the Presidency of the SFRY awarded it a high award. Also distinguished were several priests for their contribution to the development of relations between the church and state and for their involvement in sociopolitical and humanitarian organizations.

The priests who belong to the association are represented in opstina and republic SAWP conferences, humanitarian and other organizations, naturally not as representatives of the church, but rather as citizens from that structure, who gained recognition as people who are contributing to the development of society as a whole.

#### Recovering Church Objects

The Serbian Orthodox Church obtained a protocol, which has already been carried out, on recovering church objects from the Historical Museum of the Croatian Socialist Republic. This agreement was reached in February 1981 with representatives of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Croatian Socialist Republic.

During World War II, many significant church objects were taken from monasteries and churches, and after the war were housed in the historical Museum and other institutions in Croatia. On the basis of the protocol,

these objects (1,250) have been returned to the church and are displayed in the headquarters of the eparchies of the areas from which they originate--Zagreb, Karlovac, and Pakrac.

The Serbian Orthodox Church has expressed great satisfaction that this issue, which in their view is a major one, has been successfully resolved.

9909

CSO: 2800/484

SURVEY OF BANNED LITERARY WORKS IN REPUBLICS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 84 pp 45-48

[Article by Jadranko Sinkovic with reports from Mihailo Radojcic, Bozana Rublek, Iso Rusi, Dzevdal Tuzlic and Nadira Vilasi: "Bans and How To Qualify for Them"]

[Text] When a man takes a serious look at how many heated words have been rolling onto this cobblestone pavement which is our Yugoslav culture he is struck dumbfounded in the face of the by no means harmless and almost engulfing outpouring of a mind which angrily "exposes" the "pathological tissue of the socialist system," the "communist deception," the "identity of the communists with the fascists," the "systematic sweeping away of individual freedoms," and so on.

At the same time there are also surprises in the so-called analysis of the Center for Information and Propaganda of the Croatian LC Central Committee, entitled "On Certain Ideological and Political Tendencies in Art and Criticism," popularly referred to as the "White Book" (it will be recalled that this was the background material for the May discussion at the Conference on the Ideological Struggle in the Croatian LC Central Committee), which contains quotations from an extremely large number of poems, aphorisms, short stories, and statements by writers and in which names are named, all in the context of counterrevolutionary activity.

Actually there is no room for an essential dilemma: we are living through a time in which social contradictions have become rife, and the antisocialist forces have obviously been strengthened by the economic difficulties and other factors for crisis at the present moment in society. Nevertheless, when we are aware of the harshness of our legislation which carries penalties even for verbal activity against the state--how is it that so far only the most pronounced offenders like Gojko Djogo and Vojislav Seselj have been convicted, while numerous other opponents continue to write, to publish and to speak in public as though nothing had happened?

It turns out, then, that we are not after all a country in which "poets are arrested" and which everything that is "bold and lively in its wit" is "paranoically proclaimed hostility." It would presumably seem, then, that we do not after all live in a society of bans, of repression of the intelligentsia,

and of indictment of free thought, although there are some who assert the opposite.

At this moment we feel that it is neither wise nor honorable to close our eyes to the facts, among which a brief survey of the more recent of our bans on books and periodicals will be neither an unimportant nor a formal indicator. The last such ban occurred recently in Belgrade, where the Supreme Court of Serbia upheld the decision of the District Court in Belgrade which prohibited sale of the book "Ispljuvak pun krvi" [Spittle Full of Blood] of Zivojin Pavlovic, the well-known [Filmora Stage] director and writer, and that because in the court's opinion it contained alarming assertions about the student events in 1968, which might disturb the public.

The justification of that ban, which is followed by destruction of the book, mentions "alarming assertions and disturbing the public," which is only one of the cases envisaged in which the public prosecutor has a duty to impose a temporary ban on distribution and immediately thereafter to institute court proceedings for a permanent ban. In any case, it is the obligation of printers and publishers to submit two copies of every publication to the public prosecutor before it is put on sale. Certainly this obligation does not amount to censorship--since the public prosecutors' offices do not give an opinion of manuscripts before printing--but an obligation which arises out of the public function of the prosecutor's office to "present to assemblies of the respective sociopolitical communities, to government agencies, to self-managing organizations and communities, and to others responsible for social self-protection proposals for preventing socially dangerous and harmful occurrences and to strengthen legality, social responsibility and socialist ethics."

More than 5,000 various publications were published in SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia in 1983, among which religious publications represented about 14 percent. The Public Prosecutor's Office of SR Croatia notes concerning the publishing activity of the religious communities that an effort is being made to focus on our public life, and usually the social system of self-management socialism is maliciously represented, either outright or ambiguously. Various historical events are also interpreted from a reactionary and often nationalistic and chauvinistic viewpoint.

Of those 5,000 publications last year, 3 were banned. The District Court in Zagreb prohibited distribution of the book "Diverzantske akcije u Hrvatskoj" [Commando Operations in Croatia] by Ivan Haris, since the author untruthfully and insultingly portrayed an outstanding participant in the National Liberation War as a traitor and the principal person responsible for the heavy losses of a platoon of commandos belonging to the 2d Company of the Karlovac Battalion inflicted by a Ustasha ambush.

A ban was also put on distribution of the illustrated review YU EKSPRES, in which articles and pictures of a pornographic nature were accompanied by insults to the honor and reputation of the heads of certain foreign states.

The third ban had to do with the religious young people's newspaper PRVOMUCE-NIK, No 5, 1983, published in the Slivno Parish Community, since one article

insultingly described the celebration of the international holiday Women's Day, and the second said that the USSR would become a progressive country like the United States only "when all the Reds were put away on a reservation." This year there have been no bans in SR Croatia among the several thousand books and other publications printed so far. (Let us mention only one illustrative datum indicative of the extensiveness of the work in public prosecutors' offices: up to 9 August of this year the Zagreb District Public Prosecutor's Office had received 738 various books, which indicates that on the average at least 3.5 books a day have to be examined.) Judging by these figures, it could not be said that "works of art and artists are being prosecuted" in the courts. But are there other proceedings more indicative of this?

#### Misdemeanor Proceedings

Public prosecutors' offices filed several requests for institution of misdemeanor (not criminal) proceedings in SR Croatia in 1983. Proceedings were instituted against sellers who during the New Year's fair in Zagreb--as part of what was called the Anti-Museum--placed on sale two volumes of "Hrvatska Enciklopedija" [Croatian Encyclopedia], third edition, printed in 1942, which glorifies Fascism and Nazism, representatives of fascist ideology and distinguished members of the criminal Ustasha movement and the fascist creation, the so-called Independent State of Croatia. It is interesting that the prosecutor's office's request was rejected by the lower court (one of the dilemmas is that copies of this encyclopedia can sometimes be found, not all that rarely, in antique shops, and the books themselves have not been banned), but a decision by a higher court is soon expected, since the prosecutor's office is taking the view that the public was manifestly disturbed on this occasion.

Misdemeanor proceedings were also instituted against the editor-in-chief of GLAS KONCILA in Zagreb since he published an article which untruthfully, maliciously and tendentiously reported the trial of Luka Prcel, parish priest in Split.

Misdemeanor proceedings were also instituted against Filip Pavic, parish priest in Metkovic, since as the responsible editor of a religious newspaper he published a box on the first page reading: "Saint Leopold Bogdan Mandic, join the other Croatian saints and blessed ones in praying to God for our parish, for our entire people, that they will not be infected by the plague of theoretical and practical materialism." The article contains a harangue against the present socialist system, and a prison sentence of 50 days was pronounced.

The other six cases of misdemeanor proceedings that year were instituted mainly because publications had not been submitted to the prosecutor's office or had not been signed by the publisher or print shop.

Meanwhile the public prosecutors' offices had several interventions whose purpose was to call attention of responsible persons to several oversights, mainly political. The purpose of these interventions, as a matter of fact, eloquently indicates the character of socialist democracy. That is, it was

the intention and has been the practice of the prosecutor's office to institute court proceedings only in cases of manifest malicious use of the word. In other cases the prosecutor's office tries to institute political action within the publishing organization itself or, if necessary, in the community. For example, there were conversations with the chief and responsible editors of DANAS, STUDENTSKI LIST and VECERNJI LIST, as well as with the chief editor of JUGOTON. On the initiative of the prosecutor's office a discussion was held in the Split Opstina Committee of the SAWP on the content of the satirical humor newspaper BEREKIN. One such intervention by a prosecutor's office also went to the Miroslav Krleža Lexicographic Institution concerning "Hrvatski biografski leksikon" [Croatian Biographical Dictionary]. As is well known, there were quite a few public discussions of that publication as well.

Such interventions, it is felt in the prosecutor's office, have a considerable impact toward strengthening responsibility and the meaning of social influence in publishing enterprises and indeed more widely. After all, instead of being a mere palliative and repressive body, in this way the prosecutors' offices--sometimes, we would say, even in the place of the League of Communists--stimulate Marxist criticism and always a worthwhile public discussion. This trend toward democratic dialogue and of clearing up ideological conflicts through social action instead of palliative punitive measures has so far been developed to the greatest extent through polemics and reactions to the articles of the religious press. We are told in the prosecutor's office that it is precisely for these reasons that in 1983 they by and large did not use the administrative measure of banning the religious press, except in the one case which we have already mentioned.

#### The Limits of "Freedom"

But it is inevitable, it seems, that sometimes the purpose of these interventions by the prosecutor's office and the responsibility of self-managers and the social bodies in publishing and printing enterprises will be misunderstood. That is, wrongly supposing that there are presumably certain precise limits in defining the degree of freedom, a publisher here and there may treat the prosecutor's office as though it were a censorship body, calling for a manuscript to be evaluated before printing. The prosecutor's office regularly rejects such requests, not only because the law explicitly denies the existence of censorship of publications and other public news and communication media, but above all because it emphasizes the right and obligation of all participants in public information to influence the development of social freedoms on their own and responsibly, which is to say democratically. Thus the development of social relations is exerting influence so that the prosecutors' offices operate within society and within the level of democracy that has been achieved, rather than being a mere repressive body on the outside.

That is certainly the beginning of new trends, we would say, in the development of socialist democracy, but much more water will still have to go under the bridge before things become more ideal. Reality is still too full of self-censorship and the euphoria of petty politicians and embellished ideology. More than anything else, of course, there is a lack of independence as well as

evasion of responsibility, which accounts for the influence from outside and the reliance on politically influential individuals and forums. But it seems that that is not specific to the Croatian community alone.

When figures are gathered on administrative measures throughout Yugoslavia, it is easy to conclude that they are not many in number. Bans are obviously instituted in extreme cases of malicious writing. But it seems that the idea of what is malicious is not always the same everywhere. It is felt that this "understanding" depends most on the sociopolitical state of the community and on the stability of the political situation at the moment.

Basically this is a good aim, one which presupposes an ongoing development of democratic social relations. However, it also indicates that the essential democratic forces in society are still not mature enough. That is, if it is true that in some places there still exists some form of "prior control" or censorship, if it is true that there are still "blacklists" of cultural figures--then there is a manifest weakness of the Marxist forces in our society, which are avoiding entry into open public dialogue with opponents. There are also cases when conflicts begin and end with a mutual exchange of name-calling, which is certainly far from a civilized conversation.

It is above all that position of Marxist criticism in our society that accounts not only for why our culture operates in certain periods like unintelligent stuffed birds, but also why in certain other times, like this time today, there is a virtual euphoric escalation, to put it mildly, of ideologically skeptical pieces which mainly would like to proclaim socialist self-managing Yugoslavia to be a fatal historical experience.

Back at the 10th LCY Congress it was precisely stated that because of the "inadequate ideological struggle against negative tendencies and occurrences in culture and art there has been a restoration of many values and criteria of the bourgeois world."

It has not been uncommon in our more recent history for science and art to be razed to the level of day-to-day politics, and there have been attempts as well to eradicate all criticism, to offer a culture with an ideological overlay. All of this has so far been successfully opposed precisely by Marxist criticism, and it is evident that that is why precisely today--when we have obviously entered upon yet another watershed period for Yugoslav socialism--that only with open, democratic and public Marxist criticism can we successfully carry on the ideological struggle.

If an action of the League of Communists is reduced to counting the opponents, or indeed only to making up new "blacklists" and its consequences, that might be evidence of its weakness. There will certainly be dialogue on that topic as well.

[Box, p 46]

#### What Is Being Banned

We learned in a conversation with Franjo Filipcic, deputy public prosecutor of SR Croatia, and Ivanka Pintar-Gajer, deputy Zagreb District public prosecutor, that in addition to the Law on the Public Prosecutor's Office, which defines the powers and duties of the prosecutor's office as an independent government agency for protecting constitutionality and legality, there are at least three laws defining in detail the cases in which bans are placed on publications. These are the Law on Prevention of Abuse of Freedom of the Press and Other News Media, the Law on Public Information, and the Law on Publishing Activity. Under those laws a publication is banned if it is the means of committing crimes against the foundations of the social system of socialist self-management and the security of the SFRY and crimes against the Armed Forces of the SFRY, if documents or information concerning the Armed Forces of the SFRY or national defense which constitute a military secret are published, if aggression or other act against humanity and international law or the aims of the United Nations is propagated or supported, or peace or equal international cooperation is menaced in some other way, if the maintenance and development of friendly relations between the SFRY and other states is disturbed, if an insult is inflicted on the prestige of the SFRY, the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY State Presidency and their representatives, on the honor and prestige of the president of the Republic, and then if an insult is inflicted on the prestige of SR Croatia and the other republics and provinces or their bodies or agencies or representatives of such bodies or agencies. The distribution of publications is also prohibited in case of an insult to the honor and prestige of foreign states and heads of foreign states or diplomatic representatives of foreign states in Yugoslavia and international organizations recognized by the SFRY and their representatives, when secret documents or data are published which have been proclaimed a secret by law or general self-management acts, when untruthful or alarming reports are presented or carried whereby there is or could be a threat to public peace and order, when public morality is offended, when an injury is inflicted on the prestige or the rights or interests of a juridical or physical person are infringed on, when harm is done to the upbringing of children and young people, and so on. In this lengthy enumeration we have mentioned only those cases in which the political aspect of the offense is most frequently present.

[Box, pp 46-47]

#### Slovenia--Devoid of Repressive Aspects

In SR Slovenia no case of banning any book, theater performance or any other work of art has been recorded in the postwar period. However, the administrative closing of certain magazines which had brought together distinguished Slovenian writers and intellectuals is recalled. This applies above all to closing down the review PERSPEKTIVE in 1964, and then still earlier the magazines BESEDA and REVIJA 57.

NOVA REVIJA was established 20 years after termination of the publication of PERSPEKTIVE. Since in large part it also brings together the collaborators of those previous magazines, it quite often happens that what it writes arouses criticism and serious dialogue. It is evident in the Slovenian cultural situation that the publication of NOVA REVIJA actually represents a desire to raise the level of social and Marxist dialogue; however, even that group is not devoid of certain inhibitions and personal intolerances, which have a great deal to do with the fact that the main aim is still not being attained.

The most widely varying mystifications are still associated with that magazine, so that it happens, as we have been witnesses a few days ago, that the most widely varying disinformation is circulated concerning it. It was recently stated in a weekly supplement to VJESNIK of Zagreb that NOVA REVIJA, No 28/29, had been banned! The public prosecutor of SR Slovenia denies that report.

No book bans have been imposed in Slovenia, but for years a number of authors were unable to publish. For example, Kocbek, Zupan, Hofman, Torkar ... which explains their enviable "fecundity" in recent years.

There were at one time problems with certain issues of the student newspapers TRIBUNA and MLADINA. The editors of those papers say that on several occasions they had to drop certain articles from some issues (at the suggestion of the prosecutor) so that they would not be banned. At the beginning of last year two issues of TRIBUNA were still banned and, of course, confiscated. The first because of an article which in the judgment of the public prosecutor defamed the SFRY, and the second for reprinting that same article, except that this time it was contained within the court decision prohibiting TRIBUNA.

As Frane Mazi, public prosecutor of SR Slovenia, emphasized to us, enactment of a new republic Law on Public Information is anticipated this year. Following the debates and open discussions, it is clear that this law will differ from the old ones in certain details as to the way public information is approached. For example, in the well-known Article 81 on prohibitions against carrying and spreading reports which are untruthful and alarming, those which threaten or could threaten public peace and order and disturb the public, the word "alarming" has been thrown out, so that it is clear that even alarming reports may be truthful.

In short, we might conclude that in spite of the various uses of preventive methods, cases of excess in Slovenia have not been frequent. Is this because of the operation of some "invisible censorship" or because of self-censorship by authors? Probably because of both, although one should not forget either the ever greater democratization in Slovenia's cultural life.

#### Montenegro--Keeping Quiet and Prevention

There is only one daily newspaper in Montenegro, one youth paper and one university student paper, which come out monthly or even less frequently, one review for culture and two or three magazines. Books are an equally rare phenomenon, since the two publishers, Pobjeda and Obod, seem to compete in the

small number of titles they publish. To some extent these reasons might help to explain why there have been no bans for some 10 years or so now in this community unless we count the ban on one issue of the student newspaper UNIVERZITETSKA RIJEC, in 1981, because of a pornographic advertisement.

Montenegrins have been known to joke, especially newsmen, that they are clever at preventive silence, so that there is never a formal ban on anything. And it is obvious: little has been written about many problems of their community, or it has come late.

It is interesting that in 1981 the R. B. Trso university dormitory in Titograd published a book of poems entitled "Mrtav ti govorim" [I Am Speaking to You From the Dead] by Kosta Novakov, which was treated as a private publication. The event was passed over in silence, and there was no book, which is something that OMLADINSKI POKRET looked into this year. Perhaps the book will soon appear in shops selling old books?

#### Macedonia--Review Rehearsals for Theater Productions in Dispute

One might conclude at first that there have been no administrative measures in Macedonia for nearly 15 years. But there have also been in that community politically colored excesses and other events which deny the assessment that the situation has been stable and peaceful. A brief list of "cases" can paint the picture of shortcomings in this area.

Let us start with the theater, in which the last administrative measure of a temporary ban was issued some 10 years ago. This was a performance of "Mara's Wedding," an adaptation of Vladimir Kostov's novel written and directed by Ljubisa Georgijevski and performed in the Bitola People's Theater. At the hearing in the district court Mateja Matevski, poet and theater critic called in as an expert witness, compelled the public prosecutor to withdraw his proposal for a ban by force of argument. The production later won numerous awards at MESS [expansion unknown] and also was performed in the Sterija Theater Festival. But mention has to be made of a particular feature in the practice of Macedonian theaters when it comes to "doubtful" productions. Although all the houses have their own bodies and committees for social influence in shaping the repertoire, so-called review rehearsals are organized in the problematical cases for "reviewers," who are usually party officials responsible for ideological work. This practice was applied, for example, in the Bitola theater concerning the Yugoslav premier of Bresan's "Evening Festivities in a Funeral Home," but in this case the three-member delegation did not make any direct suggestion. The production was in the theater's repertoire until quite recently.

Three district public prosecutor's in Macedonia have not intervened with a ban in publishing activity either. Excesses of a political nature can by and large be reduced to statements made by certain writers in "special" circumstances, which at times has required intervention of the judges in what is referred to as the chronicle of the Struga Evenings of Poetry. Or, a bit earlier: Edvard Kocbek was invited to Struga, but at the last moment he was not allowed to speak in the traditional event "Bridges."

A TV case about which a persistent official silence was kept for several months until quite recently is the program TV-Culture, which was planned as a collage, but was not completely even put on. A hitch developed after aphorisms were taped from the book "Ubili ste boga u meni" [You Have Killed the God in Me] by Aleksandar Baljak, in the form of graffiti on the fence of the new radio-TV center which is under construction. The aphorisms looked like slogans to some of the workers on the construction site. It is said that the persons in authority merely demanded that the aphorisms be removed from the fence, but in TV Skoplje this was judged to be a serious editorial lapse. On the recommendation of the director of TV Skoplje, who has received his master's degree and soon is said to be getting his doctorate as well on the topic of the freedom of creativity, the responsible editor and two sector editors were punished by a public warning. The responsible editor, the well-known cultural figure Darko Markovic, was first discharged and transferred to the position of adviser, but he recently submitted an irrevocable resignation. Since his view of the reasons for the break differs quite a bit from what we have been told from positions of responsibility in TV Skoplje, it is difficult to forecast the outcome. In any case, we have learned, he will be tried.

#### Bosnia-Hercegovina--Before the Prosecutor's Office and the Court

Over the last 10 years or so there have been no traces of banned books. One does, of course, remember the book by Esad Cemic "Covjek na raskrsu" [Man at the Crossroads], but there are also several typical cases which demonstrate that it is not always necessary for the prosecutor's office and the court to have their say. Thus in 1977 Glas of Banja Luka withdrew from publication the book "Antologija BiH: Pripovjetke" [Bosnia-Hercegovina Anthology: Short Stories], which had been compiled by Nenad Radanovic, and that because of a story "Golimjesto" by Djuro Damjanovic. The publisher rendered the verdict himself.

The publishing program of the first literary commune in Mostar included a novel by Bisera Alikadic "Krug" [Circle] in 1982, but the members of the publishing council, knowing that the author was quite free in her literary expression and was not averse to some spicy sex, wanted to read it before the book was sent to the press. But the reviews were favorable, and the book was even successful with readers.

Incidentally, some publications do raise the dust in Bosnia-Hercegovina. For example, the exceptional publishing undertaking "Savremena knjizevnost naroda i narodnosti BiH" [Contemporary Literature of the Nationalities and Ethnic Minorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina] in 50 volumes also included the "games" of certain critics to get Djogo and Lubarda into the edition. Aside from that, some authors even refused to have their writings published in that edition (Slobodan Blagojevic, Risto Tosovic, Marko Vesovic, Rajko "Nogo" Petrov and Radoslav Bratic), and some were dissatisfied with the space they were given. Thus Izet Sarajfic was given a volume to himself as a part of that project at his personal insistence.

## WORKS BANNED IN SERBIA, PROVINCES DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 84 pp 48-50

[Article by Momcilo Djorgovic: "Serbia: Generators of Disputes"]

[Text] "In this political situation the time is not right for us to talk about events in 1948. We cannot stand behind this production," thus the outside members of the program council of the Belgrade People's Theater (Narodno Pozoriste) expressed their concern in 1980 about "The Karamazovs" by Dusan Jovanovic. The actors, by contrast, felt that it was in fact an anti-Stalinist play which they were doing, one which affirmed the victory of this society. And the play's performance was postponed.... Yet it was taken up by other theater companies and "other communities," and was thus performed in Celje, Sarajevo, and Zagreb, and then the theater workshop KPGT [expansion unknown] brought it to Belgrade. A jury of the Zagreb review START judged "The Karamazovs" to be the best play of the year in Yugoslavia and deserved to win the Gavella Award, that same year in Ljubljana it was claimed to be the best Slovenian play. "The Karamazovs" (today no one even questions it any longer) was received differently from one community to another in our country and aroused differing reactions from critics.

At the beginning of the year there were two performances on the Belgrade stage: "The Judge" after the novel of Vuk Draskovic and "Politics as Destiny" after the confession of the same title by Esad Cemic--and the public was aroused once again. This time, however, the "representatives" of public opinion were unanimous in the condemnation of these productions. Both the politicians and the theater critics and the news people and the institutions objected to the low esthetic level, the quarrelsome tendencies, and the banality of the performance. In the Youth Center, where "The Judge" was put on, they justified the staging of this performance by their poor financial situation. In the Student Culture Center they "stopped" the performance of "Politics as Destiny" and turned a sin into a virtue which they interpreted this way: "The caucus of working people feels that it is hereby ('by halting the performance') making its contribution to establishing a constructive atmosphere in creating the preconditions for a rational resolution of this situation in a manner suitable to the democratic spirit of a self-managed society." But the key officials of the center still did not escape party penalties.

In response to the request for a ban of these productions the city secretary for jurisprudence responded: "I am not sure that we can achieve with repression what we ought to be doing by social action. Moreover, these two books have not been prohibited and are on sale in Belgrade bookstores." Jovan Cirilov noted in POLITIKA that both productions suffered from artistic minimalism, that they were failures as theater and that they contained drama, but no art.

#### Defense of the Party and Culture

Prvoslav Ralic said in connection with these productions (but his remarks were not confined to them): "Belgrade has usually succeeded in being an open city which has shown understanding for true and different and indeed even controversial ideas and people. This is at the same time a city which has devotedly nurtured socialist internationalism of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. That is why all progressive people of this city must not permit occurrences and types of behavior which provincialize this city, reduce it to a shut-off town of vengeful, vain and inferior people who want to cram its open culture into the walls of Kalemegdan and into autarkic ethnic myths.... It is clear that the party is not a literary or theater critic, but also that petty politicking must not be concealed behind a bookbinder's paper or the wings of a theater. In this way both the party and culture are being defended."

Dr Jovan Deretic cleared up the confusion over the difference between books and theater performances: "The book and the theater are not the same thing, even when they speak about the same thing. One and the same word sounds quite different when uttered on the stage, before a public, from when it is read to oneself from a book. 'My settlement of accounts with them' is transformed from a personal act to a collective act."

#### Banned Books

The production of "Spawning of the Carp" by Aleksandar Popovic, which was being staged by the Pirot Theater, had difficulties going on the stage. After a conference with representatives of the opstina and the committee, the production was approved for performance with certain (we do not know how extensive or of what kind) changes. The young people's amateur theater in Cukarica prepared a so far unperformed play by Ivo Bresan entitled "The Vision of Jesus Christ in the Garrison of Military Post Office 2507," but after a talk in the local community the theater administration decided not to put on the performance. The young people wanted to perform the production at Godofest, but, although the organizers had nothing against it, they have not reappeared.

Over the last 3 years the following books have been banned in Belgrade: "Vunena vremena" [Woolly Times] by Gojko Djogo, "Dokumenti o sudjenju Gojku Djogu" [Documents on the Trial of Gojko Djogo] by Dragan Antic and Rastko Zoric, "Drustveni sukobi u Jugoslaviji 1968-74" [Social Conflicts in Yugoslavia 1968-74] by Nebojsa Popov and "Stranacki pluralizam u Jugoslaviji" [Plurality of Political Parties in Yugoslavia] by Kosta Cavoski and Vojislav Kostunica. Great excitement was aroused by "The Judge" and "The Knife" by Vuk Draskovic

and by "Moment 2" by Antonije Isakovic; however, they were not banned. In Zagreb there was nervousness over the publication of Krleza's "Dialekticki antibarbarus" [Dialectical Antibarbarus] in KNJIZEVNOST of Belgrade, but it all ended with polemics. This year the Belgrade Public Prosecutor's Office has so far banned the book "Tajni svet Masona" [The Secret World of the Masons] by Mihajlo Popovski (it is interesting that one of the reviewers was Col Gen Dane Petrovski). And then "Bela knjiga" [White Book] was banned (material from the Zagreb conferences "on ideological tendencies in art"), which was published by R. Zakic and D. Antic, "because of the publication of the poems of Gojko Djogo, which were previously the subject of court bans, and because of the violation of the law on public information and the law on prevention of the abuse of freedom of the press and the other information media.

Last month the Supreme Court of Serbia upheld the verdict of the lower court prohibiting distribution of the book "Ispljuvak pun krvi" [Spittle Full of Blood] by Zivojin Pavlovic. The opinion supporting the judgment stated that "the book contains alarming assertions about the student events in 1968 which could upset the public." In his review of the book Radoslav Miroslavljev said: "The manuscript of Zivojin Pavlovic is a journal written in Belgrade during the days of June 1968; it is full of the author's immediate impressions of the events related to the student demonstrations, supported by fragments from the original documents and excerpts from the student and other press. The author took pains to note down as many facts as possible and as many features of the atmosphere of the events, and that not only within the walls of the dormitory or the university, but indeed throughout the entire city and even the country. His meetings with people of the most widely varying character, views, education and occupations served him as a kind of additional material for description of the situation and events. The differing reactions of these people seem to objectify the picture, although they take nothing away from the author's clear and objective commitment."

The much debated "Istocnice" [Women From the East] by Ljubomir Simovic was not banned, but KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, the periodical of the Association of Serbian Writers, because of "Istocnice," but also because of publication of the appeal of the Committee for Defense of Artistic Freedom first lost its publication council, chief editor and editorial offices, and afterward there was not even any newspaper any longer. Many hope that it will begin to be published again this year. Two issues of the journal THEORIJA were also banned: No 3, 1983, because of a photomontage of the figures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The issue did after all come out after the photomontage was removed at the request of the District Court in Belgrade. The next issue, No 4, 1983, was also banned, because it published the decisions and appeals which had to do with the previous issue. The publisher appealed the decision of the district court to the Supreme Court of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, which quashed the decision of the lower court. However, the prosecutor has appealed that judgment, seeking protection of legality, and until that is resolved we regard that issue of THEORIJA as banned.

## Compromising Culture

Bans have been resorted to in extreme cases out of a desire to prevent the misunderstandings which the books and performances of "Quarrelers" arouse. An immense area of artistic creativity, popular music and entertainment goes on without any sort of political or government intervention. When the experts (and not only the court) find that history is falsified and racism spread in the book "Tajni svet Masona," why, then, should it in fact be published in our country?! Can one object to the argument of the court for the ban on "Bela knjiga" of R. Zakic and D. Antic when it contains verses by G. Djogo which have already been banned, aside from the fact that they have already violated the copyright law? We are not familiar with the content of the journal of Zivojin Pavlovic entitled "Ispljuvak pun krvi," but we have heard from some people who had occasion to read it "that it would have to be clear to any editor that certain passages can in no way be allowed to pass."

Is culture a twilight zone in which it is possible to do anything without risk? It is not compromised only by bureaucratic spirits, but also by the producers and managers in culture themselves who like muddy waters and who reveal the banal proportions of their personalities. The main thing remains untouched: the overall organization of culture, which does not encourage high achievement and an intensification of creativity. The method of financing, the distribution, decisionmaking, monopolies, commercialism, clans--all of this is still in place. What is more, they are also generators of conflicts. Even bans cannot produce an essential change.

To be sure, even the interventions are not a long-term solution. With the rising tension in the political situation, people have become more irritable, so that something like this is centered upon by the universal nervousness, although perhaps it does not deserve that kind of attention. The examples of "The Karamazovs" or the dramas "When the Pumpkins Flowered" or "Hamlet From Mrdusa Donja" show that it is a question of nervousness, not of a real danger.

Misunderstandings among the government, politics and culture are almost legitimate--it is enough to consult history. Yet it is abnormal when culture is turned into a virtual preserve for hunting down perpetual scapegoats, but also when clumsiness that dabbles in politics is referred to as artistic freedom. By comparison with the numerous fundamental problems of society, which are being resolved very slowly, the hasty slaps which are the response to "artistic" provocation, accompanied by orchestration with high principles and apocalyptic suspicions, sometimes seem the stuff of operettas. Nor are those "artistic" youths who turn their supposed commitment into curses and an affectation about a threat to their creativity any the less the stuff of operettas.

[Box, p 50]

## Kosovo--Against Nationalism

Although in recent years Kosovo has been very much in the attention of the Yugoslav public because of the counterrevolutionary events there, bans have still been quite rare.

As a matter of fact, before the demonstration of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists in 1981, there were no bans on the distribution of books, magazines or newspapers in Kosovo, although it is well known that the aim of the enemy was in fact to indoctrinate through the news media, books and schools. It is precisely in the sphere of public speech that a large number of illegally organized members of hostile groups were detected. However, this contradiction is only apparent.

On the one hand the bureaucratic sponsorship that existed over the public media prevented any sort of critical statement against the obvious flood of nationalism, and at the same time the only official reaction before 1981 was when some leader was not suitably interpreted in the press or was not included among the names of those said to have attended some meeting, and simply no notice was taken of articles colored with nationalism.

After the demonstrations the situation changed quite a bit, although there were not many bans.

The public prosecutor in Pristina banned distribution of FJALE (journal for science and culture) soon after the hostile demonstrations because of a story which was interpreted as a description of this event, and that through the eyes of the Albanian nationalists.

At the beginning of 1983 there was a great deal of talk about a book of folk songs "Demusha Shale," which was withdrawn from distribution because Enver Hoxha was glorified in some of the songs.

If we omit the ban on distribution of a calendar in Gnjilane which had been printed by the Textile Combine and which marked as holidays dates which are commemorated by the nationalists, and the warning to the youth newspaper NOVI SVET because of an article with nationalistic conceptions--the principal concern has been devoted to reexamination of the content of all the school textbooks. Certain passages have been thrown out of many of them, and some 15 textbooks have been entirely replaced; that is, they are no longer being used.

#### Vojvodina--No Bans

In the last 3 years there have been no administrative bans in publishing, the theater, the film, and so on, on the territory of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina. The production of "Pigeon Pit" in 1982, which was so much argued about, was actually not banned: it was removed from the repertoire of the Serbian National Theater in Novi Sad at the pressure of the public by the council of what was at that time the Drama Center, a basic organization of associated labor of that theater. Thus at the end of December "Pigeon Pit" ceased to be performed in Novi Sad, but it continued in Belgrade, where at first the public literally overran the box office, but later little by little, out of boredom--as many complained--became spotty. In political terms "Pigeon Pit" continued to be a "argument" for vigilance and lack of vigilance, for dogmatism and antidogmatism, for socialism and antisocialism, for nationalism and antinationalism, for orthodoxy and liberalism; that is, it brought diametrically opposite attitudes on culture to the surface.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### CROATIAN DECISION TO NATIONALIZE AMUSEMENT GAMES QUESTIONED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by Maja Miles]

[Text] Court seasons are like school years: like all the others, the Croatian Constitutional Court is slowly starting the new court season. The first sessions are starting with traditionally overfilled agendas. Precisely some of the sessions this court should schedule this fall are expected by many people in Croatia with--to put it mildly--enormous impatience.

There is first of all the "pinball machines case," as it has been called several times in the newspapers: the Croatian Constitutional Court (we wrote about it in February) is dealing with the question of the constitutionality of the Law on Chance and Amusement Games. This summer--more precisely, on the eve of the "court vacations"--the Constitutional Court took a decision on this matter, which was published in NARODNE NOVINE at the beginning of August. Although this official newspaper is not the most popular reading material in summer months, the decision provoked a strong reaction; in fact it is not every day that the Constitutional Court uses the famous article 416 of the Constitution and de facto suspends a law on whose constitutionality it has not taken the final decision yet. What are we dealing with here?

#### Suspension Until Decision

If any republican law has deserved such a "suspension" lately, it is certainly the Law on Chance and Amusement Games. It came into force in August 1983, and a few days later it was brought to the Constitutional Court under the accusation that it is unconstitutional and attacked (by the Association of Traveling Entertainment Shops of the SRH) with the same arguments that were raised against it during the so-called legislative procedure of enactment and which were persistently rejected by the legislators.

In late 1983 Constitutional Court debated the law for the first time and--in agreement with court constitutional procedure--sent it to the Sabor [Croatian Assembly], which is the other party in this dispute. The Sabor, as a legislative body, must give its opinion on the attacks on its product and

answer the charges. But time went on without any word from the Sabor, and the Law on Chance and Amusement Games was gathering dust at the Constitutional Court.

This behavior of the republican legislative body was not unusual. Quite the contrary, timeliness in communications with the court which judges its measures is a true exception, as we have been able to see in the last few years. But the situation with the Law on Games was somewhat more complicated: according to article 78 of the law, on 17 August 1984 automated amusement games had to become the property (i.e., the monopoly) of the Croatian lottery, and the machines had to be taken over (i.e., taken away) from private owners and bought off at the "fair-trade value" (i.e., nationalized).

In order to prevent this before the Constitutional Court decides whether all this--monopolizing amusement games, nationalizing the machines, etc--is constitutional or whether it is an unconstitutional encroachment upon the constitutionally protected right to work with private means, it was necessary to recur to the article 416 of the Constitution. It authorizes the Constitutional Court to "order, during the procedure, until the final decision is taken, that the execution of some acts or actions undertaken on the basis of the law can be suspended...when the constitutionality of the law is being examined and if their execution could lead to inevitable harmful consequences."

#### Silent Sabor

There is no doubt that, with the silent Sabor, which not even by the end of June 1984 deigned to answer the charges against its Law on Chance and Amusement Games, the "final decision" of the Constitutional Court could by no means take place before 17 August. Once the lottery starts "taking over" the machines from private entertainers, the latter could hardly see them again.

If, let us say, the Constitutional Court ruled one day that the law is unconstitutional indeed, this would be of little help to expropriated private entrepreneurs who would be left without their basic means of work. One need not even consider how much the received "compensation" would help them, especially if we take inflation into account. For all these reasons, the Law on Games fortunately fared, as it did: it has been "retired" for a while. How long will it stay retired depends primarily on its author, the Sabor, whose answer is being awaited so that the procedure at the Constitutional Court could be completed.

Although much was written about the Law on Chance and Amusement Games while it was being prepared, it is not superfluous to remind of some of its key moments today, on the eve of the final decision on its constitutionality (which has been controversial since the beginning).

The troubles began when the new law, unlike the old Law on Chance Games, decided to regulate so-called amusement games, too. The difference is rather

essential. Chance games--bingo, lottery, sports forecasts, betting, etc--are games which generate income (in money, objects, etc). This profit, according to the legal definition, depends exclusively on chance, on some uncertain event whose outcome the gambler cannot influence.

Such games have always been a state or "social" monopoly, i.e., private persons must not organize them. On the other hand, the so-called amusement games--those that are activated by inserting a coin or purchased token, but which cannot produce any profit and whose only purpose is amusement and entertainment, not profit--have until now always been allowed to private persons too. It was like this until the new Law on Chance and Amusement Games which has neatly determined that amusement games, like pinball machines, video games, calculations, and "other similar devices running on electricity," can no longer be put to "public use" if they are privately owned. The law has ruled that private persons who have so far earned their living by organizing amusement games could continue doing so only until 17 August 1984. The lottery would then buy their machines.

#### A Small Nationalization

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader what a dismay this has caused among owners of the so-called travelling entertainment shops. The interesting question of what is the reason for this small nationalization was certainly raised. There was only one obvious reason: the desire of the Croatian lottery to take over a rather profitable activity (by the way: the lottery drafted the first version of the law; it is thus the author of the idea of "taking over" amusement machines). But this reason certainly is not sufficient according to the Constitution.

This is why some other reasons for taking amusement machines from private owners were brought up in the course of the legislative procedure. The constitution, as everybody knows very well, guarantees the freedom of independent personal labor with resources owned by citizens. Yet it allows that the law can, "when social interest demands it," determine that private resources cannot be used in certain activities.

Thus, apart from the general reservation that private entrepreneurs can work freely under the condition that their work "is in agreement with the method, material basis and possibilities of personal labor and is not contrary to the principle of earning by labor and other bases of the socialist system," the law cannot exclude private labor unless "social interest" demands it, and not how and when it occurs to the legislator to do it. What social interest, apart from the desire to increase the socially-owned lottery funds, demanded that pinball machines be taken away from travelling entertainers?

#### Banned Automation?

Nobody managed to answer this question in the course of preparing the bill. Instead, another explanation was proffered. Briefly, it stated that the

owners of automatic amusement games are not in fact constitutionally protected private entrepreneurs who perform their activity "independently through their own labor and resources owned by citizens," because they allegedly do not work since automatic machines work for them! Unlike shoemakers, caterers, truck drivers or hairdressers, they allegedly only collect the money, while electric machines work for them!

This was certainly a darn interesting interpretation of the constitutional definition of "private entrepreneur;" it classifies all the people working with their own resources by the criterion of automation. If it were consistently applied to all the private entrepreneurs, we would find ourselves on very slippery ground, faced with some rather unpleasant dilemmas. For if we expropriate pinball machines today because we regard that they perform most of the work for their owners (they only have to be watched, repaired, exchanged, supplied with parts, etc), it could happen soon that we expropriate the private truckers' trucks because they also perform most of the work for their owners, or that we close private beauty parlors, because what is combing and cutting hair in comparison with an electric permanent wave machine, not to speak of rollers, shampoos, fans and infrared hair dryers?!

There are many questions here that will have to be solved by the Constitutional Court. The first question will certainly be whether there is, in the constitutional sense, a "social interest" for the lottery to "take over" private machines; then, may the society allow a certain activity for years, let citizens invest in it and earn their living from it, and then overnight ban it and "take it over"; may it literally leave such citizens on the street, without worrying what will happen with them (the Law on Health Care--although it also ungloriously ended its attempt to abolish private practice--had at least counted on a special law that would guarantee the physicians who would be deprived of their private practice the inclusion in the associated labor).

This is not all. The most interesting issue may be the relation between the "live" private labor and the "work of automatic machines" because this may have the most far-reaching consequences. It reminds us a little of the case which has filled Soviet newspapers this summer: the case of the citizen of Bielorussian SSR Vassili Mihailovich Pilipenko and the stormy debate about the question whether he should be allowed to keep the horse (which he found and raised himself), for the laws of the Bielorussian republic treat the beasts of draught as an illicit source of enrichment without labor. Pilipenko was eventually allowed to keep the horse. We will see this fall whether our entertainers will be allowed to keep their pinball machines.

12455  
CSO: 2800/5

END

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

30 Oct 1984